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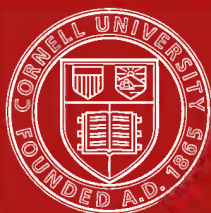
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Samuel J. Tilden unmasked!



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SERGT BUCKMAN, M.P.. 1869.

SAMUEL J. TILDEN

U N M A S K E D !

BY

BENJAMIN E. BUCKMAN,

LATE SERGEANT IN THE
METROPOLITAN POLICE.



NEW YORK:
PUBLISHED FOR THE AUTHOR.
1876.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.



	PAGES
INTRODUCTION,	I to v
CHAPTER I.	
EARLIEST RECORDS OF S. J. TILDEN,	1 " 2
CHAPTER II.	
DISHONORABLE ROAD TO WEALTH AND POWER,	3 " 16
CHAPTER III.	
ASSOCIATED IN THE "OAKES AMES," "TOM SCOTT," AND OTHER RINGS, ..	17 " 23
CHAPTER IV.	
A NORTH-WESTERN PIONEER. — NORTH-WESTERN PIONEERING,	24 " 33
CHAPTER V.	
TILDEN'S PERFIDIOUS ATTORNEYSHIP,	34 " 36
CHAPTER VI.	
PURSuing HIS VICTIM,	39 " 41
CHAPTER VII.	
RING SPECULATIONS,	42 " 44
CHAPTER VIII.	
A DANGEROUS DEMAGOGUE,	45 " 48
CHAPTER IX.	
RAILROAD COMBINATIONS,	49 " 52
CHAPTER X.	
INVRIGLING A PRESIDENT,	53

	PAGES
CHAPTER XI.	
TILDEN IN PARTNERSHIP WITH TWEED,	54 to 58
CHAPTER XII.	
THE PRINCE OF DISSEMBLERS,	59 " 60
CHAPTER XIII.	
DISSOLUTION OF FIRM OF TILDEN, TWEED & CO.,	61 " 63
CHAPTER XIV.	
TILDEN WISER THAN SOLOMON,	64 " 65
CHAPTER XV.	
OPINION OF THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE,	66 " 67
CHAPTER XVI.	
A BOGUS REFORM MEMBER OF SAME,	68
CHAPTER XVII.	
OPPOSING CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM,	69 " 70
CHAPTER XVIII.	
TILDEN AS A SELF-ELECTIONEERING MANAGER,	71 " 74
CHAPTER XIX.	
THE UNPRINCIPLED GOVERNOR, WITH SEVEN EXAMPLES,	75 " 97
CHAPTER XX.	
TILDEN <i>versus</i> COURT OF APPEALS,	98 " 104
SUMMARY,	105 " 109
APPENDIX,	111 " 120
ADDENDA,	121

INTRODUCTION.



TO THE READER.

THE facts set forth in these pages were as great a surprise to the writer as they can be to the reader! The circumstances which have led me to publish them will be briefly stated as my justification before the public for endeavoring to unmask a "reform Governor"!

I am a native of Greene County, in this State, where I was born in 1816. In 1849 I came to this city to prosecute my trade as a house-builder.

When the Metropolitan Police was organized I was one of the first to join it.

I rose to the rank of Sergeant, and was on active duty until 1870, when I was honorably retired.

During those years I reared a family in the city of New York, and accumulated, by slow degrees, a few hundred dollars against a rainy day.

After a time, or about the year 1867, I saw an enterprise started, which was of great prospective utility, and which, I became satisfied, would, if honestly managed, pay extremely well as an investment, and so put my savings into it.

During the first three years I could have sold out at a premium; I not only declined, but induced my most inti-

mate friends to join me in it, until we jointly had paid for one-twentieth of the whole original investment, or some \$10,000 in all.

Three years afterwards some Wall-street operators came into the enterprise under the most specious promises, and we accorded to them the management of its corporate affairs, as a majority of its Board of Directors.

They abused their trust most shamefully, so that, in one short year, they had bankrupted the concern in its credit, but for a purpose, as afterward appeared.

In process of time they procured the property to be sold under certain legal processes, when, behold ! it was bought in by a new corporation, *formed by themselves*, and of which they were also not only a majority of the directors, but a majority of the stockholders as well !

My friends and myself now found that our stock, being controlled by the conspirators, could not be defended at law, while they turned over the property we had paid for, to themselves, in the guise of a new corporation !

We found that our stock then had no value, but that our directors had issued to themselves new stock to represent the old stock we had paid for, and announced that the new was very valuable, as is evidently the fact.

About this time I was discharged from a position I had held in the concern, because I was not willing to evade or violate an oath administered to me in Court, under which I was compelled by truth and conscience to testify in a manner which did not please the "depredators," but who, about the same time, largely rewarded another employé to commit

plain and wilful perjury, in a manner which they esteemed would pecuniarily benefit them.

I have thus been subjected to a double calamity, having been without ordinary employment for nearly a year, besides being defrauded out of my hard-earned savings.

It occurred to me subsequently that I would occupy a part of my idle time in preparing some account of rapid transit schemes in New York city, in general, and of the frauds I had witnessed in that line, in particular.

While preparing my notes on that subject, which may be published hereafter, I made the astounding discovery that the present Governor of the State of New York was a confederate and adviser of the thieves who stole my property! Not only so, but I found apparent proof that he had officially perjured himself in order to forward their nefarious scheme. [See Chapter 19, Example VII.] Upon unearthing this unlooked-for fact, with my instincts as a police-officer, I began to investigate farther into the history and antecedents of Samuel J. Tilden.

To my surprise, I found that I was in almost daily intercourse with other persons who had known him intimately for a score of years, or more, and who did not hesitate to pronounce him a most unscrupulous knave, despite his reputation and riches. Through them I obtained access to newspaper slips, and to other documents relating to him, which I examined until convinced that they were right in their estimate of Tilden's true character.

My intercourse with many other citizens who fully believed him to be a "reformer," led me to see how badly the good people of the State of New York are being "sold" in his case.

The question arose, whether I could do a more praiseworthy act than *to give the facts* regarding this "reform Governor," trading Politician, and Railroad Lawyer. I concluded that I could not. The same conscience which would not permit me to take a false oath to save a situation on which I was dependent for my daily bread, will not permit me to stand by and see others unwittingly bestow honor and high official trusts upon a person lacking in common honesty!

Some of my friends, in view of his position, wealth and power, think that I expose myself to great danger of further "persecution, for conscience' sake," in making an exposure of this "*Governor's*" bad record.

Others encourage me to go on, with the argument that the American people are sound to the core, in respect to official corruption, and only want *reliable facts* to make an end of it wherever found; and that, with them to sustain me, "I need not fear what" one bad "man can do unto me."

After due consideration, I concluded that "truth is mighty and must prevail"; and the fact of my having the materials for this exposure unexpectedly brought to my hand, in the shape of "Parton's Ring Manual," "Wadsworth's Affidavits," and other data not easily found else-

where, decided the question in favor of using them for the public good. To this end I secured editorial aid to arrange the facts in presentable form in the following chapters.

As a police-officer is taught to arrest and bring to justice those who are plundering, deceiving, or endangering the welfare, of law-abiding citizens, so, when I came to understand the extent of the *fraud* now being practised upon the citizens of this State *by the present occupant of the Executive Chair, I deemed it my duty, as a New Yorker by birthright, to give the facts without fear or favor, and without delay.*

Be the result what it may, I have done my duty, my whole duty, and nothing but my duty, in the premises.

BENJ. E. BUCKMAN.

NO. 277 MADISON STREET,
New York, January, 1876.

SAMUEL J. TILDEN UNMASKED !



CHAPTER I.

EARLIEST RECORDS OF S. J. TILDEN.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, one of the great founders of this republic, in a public communication, written near the beginning of this century, on the plan to be adopted for the election of President, gave it as his opinion that "THE OFFICE OF PRESIDENT WILL SELDOM FALL TO THE LOT OF ANY MAN WHO IS NOT IN AN EMINENT DEGREE ENDOWED WITH THE REQUISITE QUALIFICATIONS. TALENTS FOR LOW INTRIGUE AND THE LITTLE ARTS OF POPULARITY MAY ALONE SUFFICE TO ELEVATE A MAN TO THE FIRST HONORS OF A SINGLE STATE, BUT IT WILL REQUIRE OTHER TALENTS AND A DIFFERENT KIND OF MERIT TO ESTABLISH HIM IN THE ESTEEM AND CONFIDENCE OF THE WHOLE UNION."

The truth of the great statesman's surmise as to the possibility of being elected Governor "by talents for low intrigue and little arts of popularity" is already verified by the success of the present incumbent of the Governorship of the State of New York. To these, and these alone, does Samuel J. Tilden owe his present prominence in the State, and his hopes of becoming President of the Nation before his true character is known by the people at large.

His belief is that the one thing needful for success in politics is—MONEY: that the man who *carries the party bag* is entitled to the highest honors! His wealth, according to the newspapers, amounts to six millions of dollars, which places him at the head of rich politicians in this country, where the great bulk of that craft are decidedly "impecunious!" He is also without family incumbrances, being the first bachelor Governor in the annals of the State. The questions naturally arise: *1st, How did he get his wealth?* and, *2d, How does he use it?* These questions we propose to answer in order, and to this end some peculiar but reliable information on the subject has fortunately come to hand. Mr. Tilden, it is well known, did not inherit a fortune.

He claims to have been born in 1814, but is suspected of having his dates somewhat "mixed"! In his political speeches and documents he has pointed to his having been a valiant supporter of General Jackson in 1833 — that is to say, several years before he was a voter! This would be rather "vealy support!" It might be made an algebraic problem how much such "support" it would take to elect the hero of New Orleans to the Presidential chair! Ungrateful General Jackson, in all his published letters, never, so much as once, alluded to said "support"!

Young Tilden entered Yale College, but did not graduate there. He claims, however, to have subsequently completed his collegiate course at the "University of New York." This sounds well. *S. J. T. was always a believer in sound* instead of in substance! In the course of events he settled in the metropolis, and hung out his sign as "attorney and counsellor at law." Up to 1846 his business was evidently light, as he evinced a willingness to spend his valuable time in representing a lower ward constituency of New York City, in the Assembly, at \$3 per day and mileage, and in the Constitutional Convention at the same rate. In 1855 he was willing to serve the State as Attorney-General, at a yearly salary of \$2,000, but, surprising to relate, the doughty "supporter" of General Jackson only received 101,369 out of 430,758 votes cast by the men of that day and generation. "*Counting in*" *circulars and picture-paper political tactics were not then perfected as in after years!* Thus it is clear that, twenty years ago, S. J. Tilden could boast of neither fortune nor fame, while his political career had proved but a conspicuous failure.

CHAPTER II.

DISHONORABLE ROAD TO WEALTH AND POWER.

IN 1857 the general crash in railroad enterprises occurred, when good, bad and indifferent concerns in that line fared alike. The same shares that in Consolidated New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Co. will now sell for \$300 could then have been bought for \$20. Others were in like proportion. M. S. & N. I. R. R., from \$140, went down to \$6, but has nearly returned to the former figure, if "Waterings" be added. In the general clearing away of railroad debris, and in reconstruction, there was a great opportunity for sharp, shrewd and unscrupulous lawyers. Tilden, then in mature years, saw his chance, and improved it, pre-eminently, so that he came to be known as *the railroad lawyer of Wall street*.

Tilden's first marked success was by his acting as attorney for, and subsequently as partner with, a Chicago speculator named Wm. B. Ogden, the first mayor of that expansive city.

As long ago as in 1852, or thereabouts, a railroad called "The Rock-River-Valley Union Railroad" was started, to lead from Chicago into Wisconsin. Its first financiers were said to have obtained a charter, issued bonds, and then exchanged the bonds in England for railroad iron, which they shipped to Chicago, and sold the rails to raise money to reimburse themselves for the expenses of the charter, and to provide means for grading the track! This style of financiering was completed when the property was sold under foreclosure, and a "reorganized" set of "promoters" went in to travel the same path with their disguise of different names. Under the new regime, with the corporate title of "The Chicago, Fond-du-Lac and St. Paul Railroad," Mr. Ogden became president, and its cars were run over some sixty miles or more of its track, when a second collapse followed. Funds were mostly raised in those days by loans from Eastern State banks on the railroad company's notes, endorsed by the directors individually. When the company failed, in 1857, the President (Ogden) was endorser of its notes for nearly two millions of dollars, and, if pressed for payment, was, in fact, utterly insolvent, although the holder of large amounts of Chicago real estate. In this emergency he put himself into the hands of Tilden, as his attorney, and in the course of three or four

years came out of his embarrassments richer than he was before. The *modus operandi* was about as follows: To secure himself as endorser, he took the railroad company's bonds as collateral, at, say, fifty per cent. of their par value. The corporation failing, he became possessed of them by assuming the secured debt. Then Tilden adroitly raised questions of usury in the previous payments of interest to the owners of the notes, and suggested as a compromise exchanging for Ogden's real estate, in Chicago, at a high rate of valuation, or bonds and stock of the road at par, and which were afterwards assessed to furnish more capital for the railroad itself. Meantime, all other unsecured creditors (*and the credit of the company had been designedly run to the last extreme before the failure, in order to get creditors' property into its assets as far as possible*) were offered "common" stock for sixty per cent. of their claims, said stock then being worth a market price of about fifteen per cent. of its par value. The "reorganization" was effected under the new name of the "Chicago & Northwestern Railway Co.," Mr. Ogden continuing as President, and Tilden being made Trustee for the bondholders. The new additional millions in stock and bonds were apparently not much noticed by the outside public, so that Tilden and Ogden made what would be termed a "*very neat operation*" out of it. Some of the directors who endorsed the corporation notes with the President, and did not have *his* lawyer for counsel, were permanently ruined, one at least of whom died of anxiety, caused by those complicated embarrassments.

The most serious drawback afterward realized, was that the newly-named railroad did not actually earn the interest of its new issue of bonds, to say nothing of dividends on its stock.

The original Chicago and North Western Line was, in 1864, 249 miles long, with stock and bonds afloat for nearly *eleven millions*, or \$42,000 per mile. By funding coupons, etc., it managed to do business; but in 1862 failed to earn the interest on its debt by a deficit of over \$150,000. 1863 was not much better, and fresh bankruptcy nearly inevitable. Here again the crafty genius of Tilden was equal to the emergency, as in this crisis he secretly set about adroitly stealing the "Galena" Railroad. The "Galena & Chicago" Railroad was then running from Chicago to the Mississippi river. It was the first railroad in the West (having been chartered in 1836). That company had never watered its stock, and seldom, if ever, had it failed to *declare* an annual dividend of from six to ten per cent. In 1864 it had some 300 miles of road in perfect order, on which was based a mortgage-debt of but \$10,000 per mile, and a stock issue of but \$20,000 per mile. Its *net* earnings for 1863 were over \$1,000,000, and it had about that sum in cash in its treasury as working

capital. Its stock, largely owned by those living along its line, was held as a favorite investment for trust funds involving the estates of widows and orphans, being considered as safe as the Bank of England. Tilden, coveting the property, set a "consolidation" trap for it. He borrowed money to buy the stock; he borrowed the stock itself; he bought proxies and borrowed proxies. Stealthily and steadily he pursued his course until a majority of the stock or stock proxies was obtained, and his game thereby made sure. He then looked about for more raw material to work into the grand fabric of "consolidation," which his covetous and unscrupulous mind had conceived. He bought up one bankrupt line of railroad known as the "Kenosha & Rockford," 73 miles in length, which never had, and never has, earned its running expenses. The cost to Tilden was about \$300,000. It was "consolidated" at \$1,400,000! The Peninsula Railroad in Michigan was also controlled by Tilden; *he had its stock issued to himself and partners as a bonus of \$100 for every \$100 in bonds taken at par*, and on which Tilden & Company cleared over one million and a quarter of dollars!

With all these things ready, Tilden, by his set of "dummies" elected as directors of the Galena Railroad, voted in legal phrase and form to "consolidate" it with the other corporations above mentioned. The million dollars of cash in its treasury they turned over to Tilden's control, and with concurrent proceedings consummated the *greatest and most unblushing fraud* in railroad property and interests, ever known up to that date, in this or any other country. BE IT REMEMBERED, THAT, BY THIS GIGANTIC FRAUD, SAMUEL J. TILDEN MADE A LARGE PART OF HIS ILL-GOTTEN FORTUNE OF "SIX MILLIONS," AND ORGANIZED THE FIRST CONSPIRACY KNOWN AS A RAILROAD RING IN THE UNITED STATES!

As to the animus of Tilden's strategy in "grabbing" the Galena Railroad, we are enlightened by the sworn testimony of Julius Wadsworth* (a

* "*To the Honorable, the Judges of the Circuit Court of the United States within and for the Northern District of Illinois, in Equity sitting:—*

"JULIUS WADSWORTH, of the city of New York, and a citizen of the State of New York, brings this bill of complaint in his own behalf.

"Your orator further represents, that prior to said time, the said. . . .

SAMUEL J. TILDEN, of New York, and others to your orator unknown, concerted together, operating through the brokers

of New York City, procured the proxies of a large number of the shareholders for the election of directors of said Galena & Chicago Union Railroad Company that it was on the day of the stockholders' meeting suddenly presented by William B. Ogden and those persons above mentioned, acting with him and voted upon *in a viva voce manner by proxy*, and, without any notice to your orator, and a great number of the shareholders representing nearly two millions of dollars, declared passed.

.

reputable citizen of New York city), alleging that the same was "fraudulent," "secret," and in the nature of a "conspiracy." From his original affidavit occupying twenty-one printed pages, we clip the annexed german paragraphs:—

"Your orator represents that said Galena & Chicago Union Railroad was the first railroad which was constructed leading to and from Chicago, and the first of any importance whatever that was constructed in the State of Illinois; and that said Railroad Corporation had been for many years so managed and controlled that it had acquired a great reputation for trustworthiness throughout the United States and Europe, and its stock and bonds were purchased and held as a most reliable, safe, and permanent investment by various parties throughout the United States and Europe.

"Its gross earnings per mile for the fiscal year 1863, ending December 31, 1863, were eight thousand eight hundred and eight dollars and forty-two cents per mile, and net earnings three thousand and six hundred and seventy-five dollars and ninety-eight cents per mile; and under the judicious, careful, and economical management which characterized said railroad up to June 2, 1864, would soon have surpassed that of any other railroad in the North-west.

"Your orator further represents, upon information and belief, and so charges the fact, that prior to the 2d of June, 1864, the stock of the Chicago & North-Western Railway Company was almost worthless, and possessed no real and intrinsic value whatever.

"Your orator would further represent that, at the time of taking possession of the Galena and Chicago Union Railroad, there was a large amount of money in the treasury, and some forty or fifty bonds of the Beloit and Madison Railroad Company among its assets, which had not been used in the construction of the road; that *these bonds were immediately sold, and the proceeds applied by the said Chicago and North-Western Railway, and all the money of the Chicago and Galena Union*

Railroad Corporation was also appropriated to the use of the said Chicago and North-Western Railway Company."

"Your orator would further represent unto your Honors, that the Galena & Chicago Union Railroad Company had always, prior to the 2d day of June, 1864, paid out of its earnings, all expenses for running and operating the said railroad of every name and nature, and the interest upon its bonded indebtedness, and each year provided a sinking fund of many thousand dollars, which would liquidate all its bonded indebtedness long prior to its maturity, and has, for a number of years last past, paid a dividend of not less than six per cent. to each and every one of its stockholders, upon the amount of stock held by them, and that its stock was on the 2d day of June, 1864, worth from one hundred and forty to one hundred and forty-seven dollars per share.

"And SAMUEL J. TILDEN, are the same persons who are hereinbefore referred to as being specially inimical to the said Galena & Chicago Union Railroad Company, and the rights and interests of your orator, . . . all of whom your orator charges, were hostile to the best interests of the said Galena & Chicago Union Railroad Company, and were *secretly and fraudulently* conspiring with the Chicago & North-Western Railway Company, . . . did, by and with their connivance, and in *fraud* of the rights of your orator, and the stockholders of the said corporation, *fraudulently* take possession of all of the property, rights, privileges and franchises of said Galena & Chicago Union Railroad Company. . . And the said TILDEN, as attorney and director of said road, have recently caused said stock of the Peninsula Railroad Company to be exchanged for stock of the

The confiscation of the "Galena" property was complete! It was forever sunk under the load of the fraudulent and watered issue of stock and bonds procured by Tilden and Company. The next year (1865), having leased some 250 miles of road in Iowa, they claimed to have a line of 930 miles, with a capital of \$40,000,000! Deducting the 257 miles of leased roads and the 137 miles put in by Tilden, which did not then, and never have paid their total running expenses, it left 542 miles to "float" a valuation of \$82,500 per mile, of which the old "Galena" road was the main paying portion! When the properties were consolidated, the Galena stock was worth in the Stock Market about \$140 per share.

Since then — that is to say, in eleven years — two dividends, one of 3 per cent. and one of 5 per cent. respectively, have been paid, *but in both cases from money borrowed for the purpose*. The stock is now (1876) quoted in the market at 38 for common stock, and 50 for preferred do. The capital is already above \$50,000,000! Had Tilden and Company failed in their fraudulent acquisition and "consolidation" of the original Galena Railroad, its stockholders would have received since that time about \$110 per share in annual dividends, which added to the value of the stock in 1864, as fixed by Mr. Wadsworth, would have aggregated fully \$250 per share!

Chicago & North-Western Railway Company, on the following terms to wit: for every share of one hundred dollars of the stock of said Peninsula Railroad, the Chicago & North-Western Railway Company exchanges or gives fifty dollars of preferred stock, and fifty dollars of common stock, which they specially issue for said purpose, thereby *watering and diluting the stock* of the Chicago & North-Western Railway Company to an extent wholly without precedent
 . . . in fraud of all the rights of your orator and all stockholders similar to himself, including 14,000 shares of stock which they had issued on the pretence of paying for the Kenosha & Rockford Railroad, which cost them about \$300,000, and various other matters and things of like character, and your orator is informed and believes that there has been an over-issue of stock on various pretexts and pretences by said Chicago & North-Western Railway Company, which have *not yet been reported to*

the stockholders, of some two or three millions of dollars.

"And your orator shall ever pray.

"JULIUS WADSWORTH.

"HERVEY, ANTHONY & GALT,

"*Solicitors for Complainant.*

"A. W. ARRINGTON, of Counsel.

"STATE OF NEW YORK, } ss.
 "City and County of New York, }

"On this seventh day of January, 1865, personally appeared before me, the above-named JULIUS WADSWORTH, and made oath that he has read the above Bill of Complaint signed by him, and knows the contents thereof, and that the same is true of his own knowledge, except as to those matters which are therein stated to be on information and belief; and as to those matters he believes them to be true.

[SEAL.]

"JAMES A. WELCH,

"*Notary Public.*

"Residing in the City and County of New York."

In lieu of this, said stockholders have received \$8 in cash dividends, and \$47 in average value of stock at present prices, or \$55 in all. Some allowance should be made for realizations from fictitious watering of the stock, otherwise the Galena stockholders alone, lost a sum identical with the present estimate of Tilden's accumulated stealings, or private fortune, viz., "Six Millions"!

Mr. Wadsworth, the maker of the foregoing affidavit, was a trustee for the original Galena Railroad bondholders, and the owner of three shares of its stock. He brought a suit in the United States Court to test the legality of the Tilden Consolidation. The result of the first trial was announced in the papers as follows:—

"THE GREAT RAILROAD CASE.

"[*From the Chicago Republican, July 9, 1865.*]

"The United States Circuit Court, Judges Davis and Treat, yesterday, refused the injunction prayed for by a portion of the stockholders in the Galena & Chicago Railway Company, to restrain the consolidation of that road with the North-Western Railway Company, and for the appointment of a receiver, etc. The Court, in refusing the injunction, declined to decide upon the merits of the case. They virtually, if not in fact, decided that the consolidation was to stand, but that non-consenting stockholders should be made whole as to the value of the property on the day the consolidation took place."

"*Editors Chicago Tribune*:—Will you be so good as to publish the following, for the benefit of all whom it may concern:—

"The case of Julius Wadsworth, which was commenced by him at the request of a number of the minority stock and bondholders of the Galena & Chicago Union Railroad Company, and although an injunction was not granted, yet an order *was*

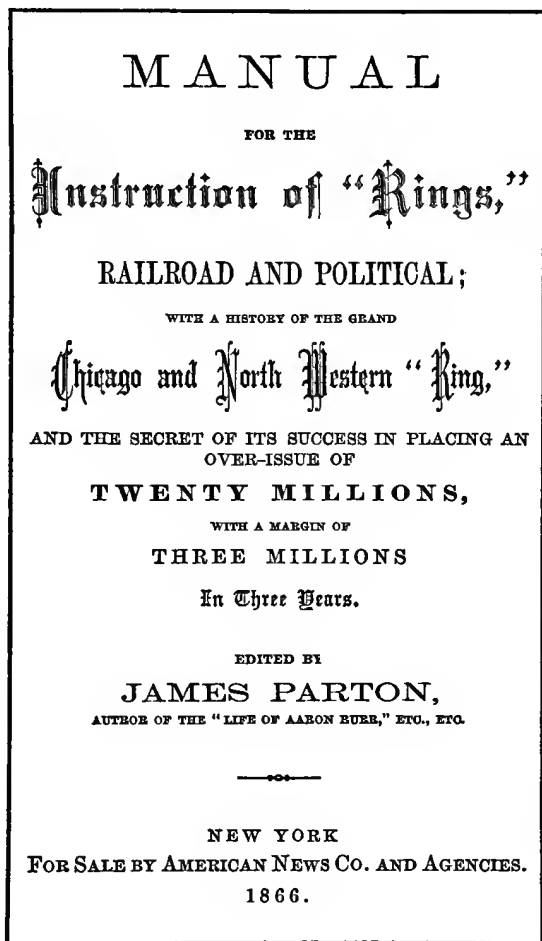
entered by the Court, equivalent thereto, viz.:—

"'Finally, those stockholders of Galena & C. U. R. R. Co. who have exchanged their stock in ignorance of their rights can now be restored, and the bondholders saved from impending ruin by joining in the efforts which are now being made to set aside the pretended consolidation which was consummated by trickery and fraud, while the public can be rescued from the despotism of the most gigantic and heartless monopoly ever attempted to be fastened upon a free people, by making proper efforts to sustain those who are now engaged in contending against this self-constituted monopoly. All of the certificates are now in the hands of William B. Ogden and Samuel J. Tilden, ready to be given up in case the consolidation should be declared invalid. Address all communications upon this matter to the undersigned, at Chicago, Ill., endorsed on outside, "Consolidation Business."'

"NATHANIEL NORTON,
"Chairman of Committee."

Mr. Wadsworth then could appeal, but it was understood that rather than have this champion fraud further ventilated and legally investigated, Tilden caused Wadsworth's stock to be bought, and farther proceedings by him stayed, for a bonus of \$30,000 in cash. The money, no doubt, was paid from "Galena" funds, but Tilden reaped the benefit!

In 1866, or one year subsequent to Mr. Wadsworth's suit, a pamphlet appeared with the following title:—



Its author, as appears on its title-page, is a well-known literary authority, and a voluminous writer of biographies and essays.

Tilden's "airs," since he had acquired "millions" from railroad stealing, and had proceeded to make himself conspicuous in the arena of politics, attracted Parton's attention. The result was the publication of this pamphlet of less than 100 pages, which, for stubborn facts, quiet irony, and effective grouping of railroad and political jobbery into a personal indictment against a dissembling demagogue like Tilden, has never been surpassed.

Parton commences thus :—

“INTRODUCTORY.

“The recent sad spectacle of the public humiliation of the most noted railway promoter of England (Sir Morton Peto) (see Note 1), in having to acknowledge that he had been a party to an unauthorized issue of the securities of the ‘London, Chatham and Dover Railway,’ for a comparatively small amount (£128,000), when hard pressed for funds, and the recollection of a still more mournful case, where the leading railway promoter of the United States (Robert Schuyler) fled the country and died of a broken heart, for a similar cause (see Note 2), has led the author to a hasty publication of this Manual, as a warning and guide to others.

“There is no necessity of such unpleasant occurrences and sudden reverses. The science of railway management has become so much improved and so well defined that no prominent projector need risk and lose his reputation as Peto and Schuyler and scores of lesser lights have done, but can assure himself by a ‘Ring’ policy as readily as by a fire insurance upon his house.

“The mistake of Peto and Schuyler was in not dividing their risk and legalizing their proceedings by a combination with other parties in a manner now technically known as a ‘Ring.’ *This plan was first adopted, so far as known, in the United States, by an eminent lawyer of Wall Street, S. J. Tilden, and a prominent Chicago land operator, William B. Ogden, and has answered an admirable purpose, not only relieving them of a position far worse than either ‘Peto’ or ‘Schuyler’ before denouement, but also enabling them to extend their operations, until they now control the longest and largest railway interest in North America.*

“Such success as this is certainly worthy of study, and should not longer be suffered to remain in obscurity, when at least a score of energetic, well-meaning railway projectors fail in the United States every year for want of a knowledge of the improved system. In view of this fact,

the importance of this Manual at this time can hardly be over-estimated. . . .

“By success is not merely meant financial prosperity, but also political influence, which in this country is a sure attachment to railway control. . . . The one thing most needful is the command of money. He usually wins who has most and judiciously uses it; and but few can afford to take the chances of political preferment who have not a sure independent income or responsible ‘backers.’

“On the rule that length of railway determines length of political purse and democratic influence, we have indicated Mr. Tilden’s superiority. The result soon culminated in the unanimous appointment of S. J. Tilden to fill the office of chairman of the Democratic Central Committee of the State of New York, and he is consequently ex-officio the head of that party in the whole United States!

“What a pre-eminence thus to lead, as he himself declares, 4,000,000 of intelligent freemen!

“That his ideas are equal to his position, the following extract from a speech at the Tammany Society Dinner, demonstrates :—

“‘SPEECH OF SAMUEL J. TILDEN.

“‘Mr. Samuel J. Tilden responded to the eighth toast. He said: “In choosing between responding for the American continent and the State of New York, nothing less than the whole continent would content me. My last professional engagement was in connection with a meeting for the support of the great Monroe doctrine. I consider myself now as responding to and representing the interests of that great doctrine of Republicanism upon the whole American continent, north and south; the right to extend our free institutions over the entire American continent. I hope and believe that no Maximilian shall ever establish his diabolic government in this hemisphere. I see around me to-night the representatives of the

army and navy—Farragut and Heintzelman—and I call upon them to unite with me in declaring the supremacy of the

Monroe doctrine, and in asserting that Americans alone shall govern on this continent!"

Parton remarks:—

"Such then is the tremendously influential position occupied by a single individual, attained, as will be seen in the sequel, by the power of a 'Ring' arrangement in railway management, enabling him to

carry out measures ruinous to Peto and to Schuyler, but to him a source of incalculable wealth and power at the present moment."

Parton reviews Tilden's "grab" of the "Galena" Railroad, and his "consolidation" swindles at great length, from which we subjoin the following extracts:—

"Having thus stated the main points of the railway built to run to the 'Tilden Mine,' and to carry ore for Mr. Tilden individually, the student will be prepared to judge of the efficacy of a 'Ring' to cover up mistakes. Such a road as this would have failed up the 'Ring' had they not been able to 'consolidate' it. This they did in the following manner: they mortgaged the road for \$15,000 per mile, and issued stock also, at the rate of \$15,000 per mile. The bonds were subscribed for at the rate of seventy-five cents on the dollar, and the stock at the rate of twenty-five cents on a dollar, and under Mr. Tilden's drafted law of Michigan, was declared full paid. Thus a subscriber for \$1,000 in cash received a \$1,000 7 per cent. semi-annual bond and \$1,000 of full-paid stock, or ten shares. The Peninsula road is seventy miles long, including the six miles of useless 'branches;' therefore, the total authorized capital, \$1,050,000 of bonds and \$1,050,000 of stock, representing \$1,050,000, or \$15,000 per mile cash. This railway, including the docks at Escanaba, etc., did not cost less probably than \$30,000 per mile, or \$2,100,000 (just about double the estimate).

found in the Galena Company's treasury, at the time of consolidation.

"Mr. Ogden was President of both companies, and Tilden was trustee for both sets of bondholders, and held control of most of the Peninsula stock, of which he is believed to have been by far the greatest owner. Consolidation was proposed, the two roads having only a gap of 120 miles between them (or the length of Green Bay), and the 'Ring,' on the rules laid down in this Manual, got a vote of the stockholders (see Note 5) authorizing it, and then the directors passed a resolution to have the President treat with the trustee for securing the control of the invaluable line. Immediately the stock commenced going up, until sales of Peninsula stock, on which \$25 was actually paid, were quoted at the Board at about \$90! The President of the C. & N. W. felt constrained to hurry, for fear it might go higher, and the Grand Legalizer intimated that some of the owners were opposed to taking any such doubtful stock as C. & N. W. for their Peninsula! At last the bargain was struck; like coy lovers, the 'high contracting parties' at last came together. The terms were, that the C. & N. W. should guarantee the Peninsula bonds, at par, and should issue a share of C. & N. W. preferred, and a share of C. & N. W. common for every two shares of Peninsula, both being reckoned at par. Thus we find in the report of the Chicago and North Western Company for 1865 that \$1,029,000 of bonds

"When the funds began to run low, \$1,393,000 more stock, apparently from report, was issued, for which about \$350,000 more in cash was probably realized, if issued at the original rate. This would leave about \$650,000 more, which, it was rumored, was borrowed out of the cash

were so assumed, and \$2,000,000 of stock so exchanged, and that \$333,000 were still to be so changed, at the option of the Peninsula owners, which delay might have been caused by a dearth of certificate books.

"(There is reason to suppose that the Galena original stockholders were not made aware that the Peninsula stock was not, at the time, *bona fide* full paid, the same as their own.)

"The President of the C. & N. W. thus tells the tale in his official report for 1865, with an elegance of language and in finely rounded sentences, which cannot but excite the admiration of any appreciative student of this Manual : —

" 'The securities of the Peninsula road rose rapidly, with the increase in value of the equipment materials and work which had already been provided and were in brisk demand for near a year before its completion, the stock reaching eighty and ninety cents for the dollar, and the bonds were sought for and sold at par. There was danger that they might pass into the hands of holders having interests adverse to the North-Western, and again expose that company to the hazard of losing the benefits of a close connection with it, as the key to the Lake Superior business, so important to the long line of road already extended in that direction.

" 'Efforts were made from time to time by the North-Western, previous to its consolidation with the Galena, to secure a permanent connection or consolidation with this road, but were unsuccessful, the owners of it then being indisposed except at too high rates.

" 'Meanwhile, at the annual meeting, at the time of consolidation between the Galena and North-Western Railroads, in June, 1864, authority was conferred upon the Board of Directors by the stockholders to consolidate with the Peninsula, if terms acceptable could be obtained.

"Subsequently better terms were obtained [*these dissembling lies were written or dictated by Tilden beyond doubt*], and in October, 1864, after the consolidation between the Galena and North-

Western, a consolidation was effected with the Peninsula Railroad Company, by an exchange of one-half share of the common stock and one-half share of the preferred stock of the company, for one full share of the stock of the Peninsula Railroad Company.'

"We will now review the consolidation brought about by the 'Ring' of the Peninsula Railway.

"They obtained a guarantee of \$1,029,000 of bonds, issued at seventy-five cents on the dollar, which Mr. Ogden reports were worth par. There is a profit of

\$257,350

"They received, or had the option of taking \$1,196,500 in preferred stock, which Mr. Ogden in his printed circular of the same year says averaged a value of \$90 a share. It cost them \$25.

777,725

"They also had in the same way \$1,166,500 netting in common stock, which Mr. Ogden in same circular quoted at \$54, costing them \$25, leaving them \$29 profit per share, or

336,685

\$1,371,660

"Here, then, is a profit of almost \$1,500,000 on one investment of about the same sum for an average of less than one year's time, and which, but for the scientific organization of a 'Ring,' on the principles of this Manual, would have resulted in a loss at least equal to that sum, making a difference of three millions in results.

"The result to the original Galena stock-holder is as follows : —

"Cash borrowed from Galena surplus and sunk in Peninsula, extra cost,

\$650,000

"Interest on \$1,029,000 Peninsula bonds, two years' compounded over

150,000

"Dividend on \$1,000,000 preferred stock, exchanged Dec. 1st, 1864,

35,000

"Dividend on \$1,000,000 preferred stock, exchanged June, 1865," 35,000

"Loss on operating road, in 1865, \$200,000; 1866, say \$100,000, 300,000

\$1,170,000

"Discount of 28 per cent. on bonds sold to make up deficiency, \$135,800

"Total loss, \$1,305,800

"As the 'Galena Division' was the only portion that could have earned a dividend

in that time, this in reality comes out of what that division would have earned for itself if not consolidated, and is equal to twenty per cent. on the whole stock of the original Galena road. It follows, therefore, that since Dec. 1st, 1864, those stockholders have lost their dividends, otherwise certain (and probably of ten per cent.) and have incurred, by consolidation with the Peninsula, a loss equal to twenty per cent. on the par of their stock."

[This was written nearly ten years ago.

The loss is now over one hundred per cent. instead of twenty.] — [ED.]

TILDEN LEVYING SPECIAL TAXES ON FARMERS AND MERCHANTS.

In order to make a show of earnings on his "consolidated" and "watered" stocks, the rates of freight were, by Tilden's advice, raised on the farmers along the old Galena road; for wheat to Chicago, 72 per cent., and on the merchants from Chicago west, for merchandise, 88 per cent. ! Have not the plundered Galena stockholders and the outraged Illinois and Wisconsin farmers good reason to execrate SAMUEL J. TILDEN AS THE

CHAMPION RAILROAD ANTI-GRANGER OF AMERICA?

THE PROOF IS INCONTESTABLE THAT THESE CONSOLIDATION SWINDLES OF SAMUEL J. TILDEN, FOLLOWED BY THE ADVANCE IN THE RATES OF FREIGHT TRANSPORTATION ON THE RAILROAD LINES WHICH HE CONTROLLED, LED TO THE ORGANIZED RESISTANCE OF THE FARMERS IN THE WEST, KNOWN AS THE "GRANGER MOVEMENT"; RESULTING IN THE ENACTMENT OF THE "POTTER LAW" IN WISCONSIN AND RESTRICTIVE RAILROAD LEGISLATION IN VARIOUS OTHER STATES.

The annexed extracts from Parton's pamphlet leave no room for doubt as to the correctness of the foregoing statement:—

"THE 'RING' *versus* THE PEOPLE.

"We have shown how railway corporations and individuals are powerless in the hands of a 'Ring.' It now remains to show how the PEOPLE come to grief and are helpless. Their hopes are evidently towards restraining legislation, but the

'Ring' will doubtless be represented at the State Capitol, as heretofore, and beat them in the end.

"We shall use newspaper articles mainly.

"Here is an extract from a Boston paper of January, 1866:—

“‘TRANSPORTATION EXCITEMENT AT THE WEST.—The enormous railroad, canal and lake charges on grain, from the banks of the Mississippi to the Atlantic coast, have fully aroused the people of the North-west, including Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota and Wisconsin, and they are now giving very emphatic expression to their determination to submit no longer to the exactions of transportation companies. It is asserted as a matter of fact, that it costs three bushels of corn to send one to market a distance of one hundred miles; one hundred bushels to get a pair of boots; one thousand bushels to get a suit of clothes; and two tons of corn for a ton of coal. *A farmer at Waterloo, Iowa, was actually brought five dollars in debt by a shipment of barley to Chicago.* . . .

“‘The Chicago people are looking sharply after the railroad companies. One hundred and twenty-three of the leading firms have addressed a series of searching queries to the various railroad companies centering there, touching the comparative rates of freight upon produce and merchandise, the warehouse difficulties, and the charge that railroad officials are interested in elevator and express companies.’

“‘The feeling became so general at the West, mass meetings of farmers having been held at St. Paul’s, Minnesota, and in many counties in Wisconsin and Illinois, that open acts of hostility were feared by railway managers. The expedient of securing a soothing report from the Chicago Board of Trade was deemed advisable, in January, 1866, and published, thus:—

“‘TO THE PUBLIC:—

“‘*The Directors of the Board of Trade, having under consideration the numerous complaints which have found expression in public meetings and conventions in various parts of the Northwest, at their meeting on the 24th of January ult., adopted the following preamble and resolutions:—*

“‘WHEREAS, There appears to be a wide-spread dissatisfaction existing among the producing and mereantile communities of the North-west, growing out of the alleged oppression and abuses on the part of

the railroad companies whose eastern termini are in this city; and

“‘WHEREAS, We believe the proper way of adjusting differences of this character is by free discussion of the matters in dispute; and

“‘WHEREAS, This Board of Trade is, in an eminent degree, a representative of the producing interests of the North-west, and may properly be expected to sympathize with those interests in any question pertaining to their welfare; therefore,

“‘*Resolved*, That we cordially invite the official representatives of all the railroads herein referred to, to meet the Board of Directors of this Board, and a committee to be invited from the Mercantile Association, for the purpose of discussing the alleged grievances, and to the end that by such discussion a better understanding may be arrived at touching the points in issue. Such meeting of conference to be held in the directors’ room of the Board of Trade, on Saturday, the 17th inst., at 2 P. M.

“‘Assuming that the grounds of complaint are set forth and declared by the remarks and resolutions of the various public meetings that have recently been held throughout the country, and giving their attention to those points, the committee find that they may be classified as follows:—

“‘*The consolidations of certain railroad lines, which, it is claimed, work injuriously and oppressively upon the interest of the community.*

“‘*Combinations between railway companies and steamboat lines, which are claimed to create monopolies, and, by high rates of transportation, inflict unnecessary burdens upon those who are obliged to patronize those lines.*

“‘*Excessively high rates for travel and transportation by the various railway lines leading westward from Chicago.*

“‘*Arbitrary rules of railway companies in compelling the delivery of bulk grain to certain elevators, and the lack of notice to consignees of the arrival of shipments.*’

“‘Omitting the long statements of details, the conclusions of the Board of Trade were stated thus, on the main points:—

"We believe consignees are notified with reasonable promptness of the arrival of bulk grain upon all the roads, except the C. & N. W. R. R., and we are assured that arrangements will be made that this line should not be an exception.

"An alleged complicity on the part of railroad officials with the management of grain elevators.' On this point we can produce no proof aside from the statement of the parties themselves. It is proper to say that the charge is most emphatically denied by those gentlemen.

"The consolidation of certain railroad lines, which, it is claimed, works injuriously and oppressively upon the interest of the community.' That such consolidation exists is a matter of record, and cannot be denied; and further, that such consolidation has, to some extent, destroyed competition is equally patent, but whether it has resulted in unjustly oppressing the community, may admit of some argument. If it shall be found that such consolidation results in placing a higher tariff of travel and transportation upon such line than is justified to secure a fair return for capital invested, or higher than is charged by other lines not similarly situated, then it is clear that such consol-

idation is oppressive and an odious monopoly. Comparison of rates with other lines will, to some extent, show whether this be true or otherwise. We therefore make a comparison between the rates of freight charged upon leading classes and articles in 1861, before the period of high prices, and the present rates.

"The Chicago & North-western Railroad Company have advanced their rates during the period:—

"Upon wheat, seventy-two per cent.

"Upon coarse grains, twenty-one per ct.

"Upon flour, seventy-one per cent.

"Upon lumber, thirty-five per cent.

"Upon live stock, seventy-three per ct.

"Upon merchandise, eighty-eight per ct.

"Upon passengers' fares, twenty-eight and one-half per cent.

"From present indications, there seems to be a determination to test the relative rights of all by an appeal to legislation. We hope that this may not become necessary, but that a policy may prevail, that, while it secures to the people an entirely just consideration, will not lead to embarrassment of our railway lines.

"Signed by the Committee of the Chicago Board of Trade."

Parton then quotes the following resolutions, passed in 1866, by a Convention of Farmers along the line of the original Galena Railroad, thus:—

"Whereas, Under the present system of railroad combinations and other freight monopolies, the farmer and producer has no redress, and is by the inadequate means of transportation compelled to give two-thirds of his crop to get the other one-third to market; and

"Whereas, We regard the present system of transportation as little less than a semi-legalized system of plunder, by which a combination of capitalists are rearing immense fortunes upon the ruins of the producing interests of the North-west; therefore,

"Resolved, That as we know of no adequate remedy for the present wrongs, or security against future oppression, but legislation, we must turn our attention to the law-making power, and demand such

appropriate and efficient legislation as will remedy these evils, and thus teach corporations and unholy combinations that the sovereign people have rights which they are bound to respect.

"Resolved, That in order to carry these principles into practical effect, we hereby pledge ourselves to co-operate with the people throughout the State in electing a legislature pledged to the same."

Parton adds (in 1866):—

"It will be interesting to see how far the people will realize their strength to help themselves.

"The 'Ring' of the C. & N. W., who it is well known are, more or less, controlling connecting lines of steamers on the Mississippi, and making great profits therefrom, are pushing the thing too far."

It will be seen that Mr. Parton quoted from evidence which could not be called in question, and the points which he made were fortified by ample facts as well as by the "logic of events."

The effect of this document was disastrous to Tilden. In the first year of his "Chairmanship," and before his partnership with Tweed had taken effect on the city ballot-boxes, he had the mortification of seeing the State elections in the fall of 1866 go against his political combination.

Horace Greeley then edited the "New York Tribune" (which did not then get loans of \$100,000 at a time from Tilden, or any one else), and in double-leaded editorials called attention to Parton's statements. Other newspapers took up the subject. Tilden was in a quandary! To dispute the facts he dare not. To ignore them was nearly as bad. To silence them was his policy. An active agent canvassed the city of New York, and bought up every copy offered for sale!

We could name a person who handled the money at the time!

CHAPTER III.

ASSOCIATED WITH THE "OAKES AMES," "TOM SCOTT," AND OTHER "RINGS."

IN the previous chapter the reader will have noted the laying of the foundation of Tilden's wealth in certain railroad frauds. This chapter will be devoted to the subsequent development of his career in the same line of gain, but in wider fields of operation, and with the *éclat* of previous success.

Tilden's residence in Wall street led him to see the great advantages of having a railroad stock established among the list of "fancies" in that arena of stock gambling, as the directors and officers of such a stock company could make fortunes semi-annually, by raising or depressing its market price at their pleasure. At the same time he knew the danger of some "large operator" taking a fancy to use large blocks of stock to control the management, which might inconvenience the ring quietly working inside that corporation.

To obviate this risk, Tilden invented, or at least introduced, the plan of bondholders having a vote on their secured debt, to the same extent as the stockholders on their unsecured credit. The absurdity of this system will be manifest when applied to private business. What sane man would wish to mortgage his house, with a proviso that the mortgagee should direct as to the care and maintenance of the encumbered premises? Under these circumstances, the secured creditor would look to improving his security at the expense of the debtor. The effect of course is the same in railroad property. Yet Tilden has contrived to get nearly all the railroad lines which he has "reorganized" to adopt this anomaly. He also had, in some cases, a provision inserted in the railroad mortgage, which, beside providing for bondholders voting, authorizes the Trustee to vote on all bonds not represented by the individual owner. Of course, he took good care to be the Trustee himself, and the concentration of power thus held by him is far more than is generally known.

It is this power which gives him almost autocratic rule in certain railroads where his name never appears among the elected officials.

The latter may detest, but dare not dispute him. This secret power will explain certain strange proceedings in the Chicago & North-Western

Railroad, long after Ogden had been turned out of office, by which Tilden could carry on private speculations and gratify personal malice at a manifest expense and heavy loss to the railroad corporation itself, as set forth in another chapter.

Tilden was cunningly weaving for himself this net-work of personal sway around the corporate organization of the last-named road, when Parton's "Manual" appeared in 1866, with the following remarks on that feature of Tilden's tactics:—

RULE 2D.—THAT "*RING*" is the most sure of control WHICH KEEPS ITS CONSTRUCTION ACCOUNT OPEN, ITS STOCK BOOK OR SHARES UNLIMITED BY LEGISLATION; and permits the bondholders to vote.

Remarks: The first two points of this rule are not novel, but well-known facts, and need no elucidation to make them apparent. The third is a recent invention (first broached, so far as known) by the Grand Legalizer of the C. and N. W. Ring (S. J. Tilden). It is adopted by that company, to the fullest possible extent, even, it is believed, beyond the authority of the Law (note 7). It is the great bulwark of the "Ring," and hence its expansion. The only trouble about it is, that it is an absurdity on its face, and it will be difficult usually to find stockholders to stand its injustice, or not to notice its fallacy. The stock of the Central and North-Western Company being held, it is estimated, to the extent of 90 per cent. by brokers, who are buying and selling daily,

they never stop to look into the effect, and hence its use in that "Ring" management is established.

It is simply arranging for the creditor to manage the debtor's property while holding a lien upon it, with power of foreclosure and forfeiture at the same time. A principle which presupposes self-interest extinct! It is like a man mortgaging his farm to his neighbor for half its value, and then renting him the same to pay the interest, with agreement that in case the lessee did not make enough profit to pay himself the interest semi-annually he was to have the right to foreclose, and take it for his debt, while in actual possession. The supposition is, that in most cases the farm would fail to pay the interest on trial of the plan. With due care of the State Legislature, the "Ring" in such Corporation may easily defy the stockholders or the public to interfere with their perpetuity and power, owing to this feature of the bondholder's vote.

Henry Keep, then in the zenith of his power, undertook to gain the control of the "North-West Stock," Ogden and Tilden being at the time its sole managers.

Keep was able, with his great wealth and prestige, to secure a majority of the votes in 1867, and at the next election turned Ogden and all his retainers out of office; but the sharp Lawyer had a safe retreat in his Trusteeship for the bondholders from which Mr. Keep could not expel him, because the bondholders were, as a matter of course, Tilden's friends.

Since Mr. Keep's death various Wall-street operators have held control of the stock, Mr. J. Gould being now understood as holding that position. Tilden was retained as "COUNSEL" during Gould's brilliant administration of the Erie Railroad, and is doubtless "retained" in "North-Western."

TILDEN COUNSEL FOR THE "ERIE RING."

On page 336 of Assembly Document, No. 98, for 1873, will be found the following item, copied from the Erie Railroad books: —

"SAMUEL J. TILDEN, JAN'Y TO FEB'Y, 1869, LEGAL SERVICES, \$20,000."

Tilden subsequently appeared before a committee, to say that he actually received but \$10,000 for one month's services, viz., February, 1869. The question of amount is, however, not very material; the fact of his "having a finger in that pie" being thus clearly established.

TILDEN COUNSEL FOR A "FORT WAYNE" OPERATOR.

Tilden was at another time "COUNSEL" for a *whilom* large operator in "Fort Wayne" stock. His profits as such "counsel" will never probably appear in print, but he is known as yet being largely interested in that line, and the trustee of its bonds.

His "bull" "client's" history is thus noticed in a Boston paper in 1873: —

"The career of Anthony W. Morse, as dazzlingly dishonest and brilliant as that of Fisk itself, has passed from the memory of the many, although his dealings covered one of the most important periods in our history — during 1863 and 1864 — and at times affected even the policy of the National Government. Morse was hardly more than twenty years of age when he first entered Wall street, in the former year. He was married to a shrewd, cool-headed woman, with a few spare thousand dollars. This was the nest egg which in

less than a year was turned into almost as many millions. His every act was watched by speculators, who bought when he bought, and sold when he sold. He was the barometer as well as the king of the street. But his time came at last, and, after a reign of less than a year he was hurled from his position by a panic of his own creating. A year later he died in a second-class New York boarding-house, and his dead body was held for debt, which was paid by a former business friend."

Since the "Fort Wayne" line has passed into the mammoth combinations of the Pennsylvania Railroad, it is understood that Tilden "sleeps" with the notable "Tom Scott, President" of Pennsylvania Railroad, and that the latter may take an active part in assisting Tilden to write his name as "President U. S. A."

TILDEN IN THE "CONTINENTAL IMPROVEMENT COMPANY."

The above two names suggest a brief notice of their copartnership in the "CONTINENTAL IMPROVEMENT COMPANY," chartered by the Legislature of Pennsylvania in 1868.

It was a full-fledged "Credit Mobilier" concern, of the most grasping and dangerous kind.

By a reference to the Certificate of Assent to Incorporation filed by that company on the 21st of May, 1869, it will be seen that Thos. A. Scott held 2,000 shares, or \$100,000, and SAMUEL J. TILDEN held 1,000 shares, or \$50,000.

This *Improvement (!) Company* then started for plunder, and found it in this wise:—

Congress had (in the Pioneer's Bill) granted 1,160,000 acres of public land in Michigan to build a railroad from the south line of that State to Grand Traverse Bay. A corporation was formed for the purpose, and known as the Grand Rapids and Indiana Railroad Company. With this railroad company the Continental Improvement Company made a contract to build the line of railroad, of 320 miles, for \$25,000 per mile, in 7 per cent. gold bonds, \$5,000 per mile in capital stock, together with *all its construction assets of a partially graded road, etc., and all its land grant.*

This series of bonds, amounting to \$8,000,000, were all issued forthwith, and the "Fort Wayne Railroad" at once guaranteed one half of them, which also bound the Pennsylvania Railroad; these were sold in London, in 1870, at 87½ gold, or over par in currency. The balance were sold in 1872, in New York, at 96, currency. The Continental Improvement Company, therefore, had about \$25,000 per mile in cash to build the railroad with. The engineer's estimate was that \$4,000 per mile would prepare the track ready for the rails! This "Construction Company" realized therefore a large percentage of profit from the securities paid over to them, besides having the Land Grant as an EXTRA BONUS.

The equipment of the railroad was provided for by another issue of 8 per cent. bonds, of \$1,250,000 in amount.

The Directors of the railroad company became the same, practically, as composed the Board of the Continental Improvement Company, and settled Corporation accounts with each other without any quarrels!

To the Railroad Commissioner of Michigan the railroad company reported, in 1874, its business for the preceding year, on about 300 miles of finished road, as follows:—

<i>Earnings, 1873.</i>	.	.	.	\$1,119,700 86
Operating expenses	.	.	.	\$857,295 71
Interest on bonds	.	.	.	560,000 00
				<hr/>
				\$1,417,295 71
Deficit	.	.	.	\$297,594 85

In 1874 it was announced that the Grand Rapids and Indiana Railroad was buying 20,000 tons railroad iron for "*renewals*"!

The Report of the Land Department of the *Continental Improvement Company*, dated July 1, 1873, shows that 90,443 acres of the Grand Rapids and Indiana Railroad National land grant were sold for an average of $14\frac{36}{100}$ per acre. "exclusive of village lots." The exhibit was as follows:—

Sales, 90,443 acres, at \$14.36 . . .	\$1,405,041 21
Expenses	115,676 12
NET PROFIT	<u>\$1,289,365 09</u>

The whole story is not yet told. Tilden & Co. resisted the payment of any taxes on these lands, *because granted for railroad purposes!* and an appeal taken from the State Courts to the United States Supreme Court, which decided that the same were subject to taxation. The lands escaped taxation, however, for nearly twenty years, while the pioneer settlers had to pay double taxes on their adjacent lands!

*Tilden contends that the farmers of Michigan ought to support him for the Presidency! Has he not "farmed" more land than any of them?!**

Comment is unnecessary on the above contrast in the finances of the railroad company which Congress intended to aid by its land grant, and the "*Continental Improvement Company*," concocted by Tilden and others to steal the National grant for mere private gain.

Among the directors of the above-named railroad company (and who, of course, permitted its life-blood to be sucked out by the vampire "*Improvement*" Company) appears the name of H. J. Jewett, now President and Receiver of the Erie Railway Company.

This may serve to explain the recent telegrams published, to the effect that Tilden was to be selected as umpire in all matters connected with Erie Railway "*reorganization*"!

Milk is found in all these railroad cocoa-nuts, but how it gets there involves too much explanation for the space afforded by these pages!

TILDEN THE COUNSELLOR OF THE "CREDIT MOBILIER" FRAUD!

It would readily be suspected by the reader that, when such scandal as that connected with the "*Credit Mobilier*" Ring in the Pacific Railroad

* *Tilden is said to control another large land grant offered by the State of Michigan to aid the construction of a line of railroad from the Straits of Mackinaw to Marquette, on Lake Superior.*

affairs was investigated, such vultures as Samuel J. Tilden and partners would not be far away.

Such proved to be the case. Tilden was employed as the leading counsel of the Union Pacific Railroad Company. His speeches as such in the celebrated "Barnard order" cases were published in the "New York Times" in full, at advertising rates, and the bill no doubt charged to the company's "legal expenses." But this was not all. The alleged fraudulent "Oakes Ames contract" itself was drawn or counselled by *Tilden*!

In an article on this matter, in the "New York Times," reference is made to the official record of the Congressional Investigation, thus:—

"Mr. Hoar then asked Ames, who proposed this cunning scheme,—by which everything was placed in the hands of the 'Credit Mobilier,' and the following was the testimony as it appears in the official record:—

"*Question by Mr. Hoar.* Were you not informed by the counsel who drew this contract that this was a violation of law?

"*Answer by Oakes Ames.* We were informed by counsel whom we consulted that this issuing of stock as a payment upon the contract for building the road was in entire compliance with law.

"*Question by Mr. Hoar.* Who were the counsel that gave that advice?

"*Answer by Oakes Ames.* . . . MR. SAMUEL J. TILDEN. . . ."

Verily, "Sly Sammy" was there! The "Times" says in this connection:—

"*It appears, therefore, that Mr. Tilden was the individual who advised this*

direct violation of law which was the vital point in the whole Credit Mobilier plot."

TILDEN "REORGANIZING" THE ST. LOUIS, ALTON AND TERRE HAUTE RAILROAD.

In 1862 Tilden was employed to "reorganize" the above-named railroad company. He was paid \$21,000 for services as counsel, and was made one of the committee of five to purchase the railroad at a judicial sale. The terms of sale required that the parties interested should go through certain formalities within a certain time. Some of the owners did not comply within the time, and some \$284,000 of bonds were left over in consequence. By Tilden's advice, the committee divided these bonds among themselves, after having reported the same as assets of the new company. *This is a case of "addition, division, and silence"!*

Again, what is known as the "Belleville Branch" was found to have been built on the credit of the above company, but to be owned by a few of the New York directors, who had leased it to the parent corporation at an excessive rental. One of the parties to this *breach of trust was Samuel J. Tilden.*

A full account of the details can be found in the "Tribune" of May 29, 1875, and in the "Times" of June 11, 1875.

A committee of stockholders was appointed to demand of Tilden an investigation or explanation.

The following resolution was also adopted at an informal stockholders' meeting in 1875 :—

"*Resolved*, That the committee demand from the officers of the company an inspection of the list of *Voting Bondholders*."

"Mr. W. C. Whitney, in addressing the dissatisfied stockholders, stated that since the reorganization, in 1862, *Tilden's committee had been practically in control*

of the corporation; that they closed against inspection the list of voting bondholders—A LARGE MAJORITY OF THE WHOLE VOTING POWER OF THE COMPANY—so as to render it next to impossible for the holders of the securities to confer with each other and carry an election."

The result of this agitation was, that *Tilden did not deign to make any explanation*, but when the time for the farce of an annual election for 1875 came round, the bondholders re-elected himself and his friends as the directors, and "order reigned in Warsaw," for the minority stockholders were powerless and must meekly "submit to the inevitable."

Thus far as to Tilden's conspiracies in corporation "rings": For instances of his treachery to individuals, see next chapter.

NOTE.

Since the first edition of this book was printed, a four-column article appeared in the two following-mentioned papers; evidently written by Tilden as a defence in regard to the "Terre Haute R. R." case. Subsequently an answer appeared, "inspired" by the former President of the road, who has been "interviewed," as is thus reported in the "N. Y. Commercial Advertiser," of April 8, 1876 :—

"On the publication of the defence of the Purchasing Committee, which appeared in the 'Cincinnati Commercial' and the 'New York World,' a reporter of the 'St. Louis Globe-Democrat' called again on Mr. Griswold, who was President of the Terre Haute, Alton, and St. Louis Road at the time of Tilden's connection with it, who said :—

"*The paper in question is the work of Governor Tilden, either written for him or photographed from his words, and is a tissue of fallacious misrepresentations and pettifogging.* It is no vindication. It admits the appropriation of the securities; says the Purchasing Committee owned them, and if they did not own them, argues that they (especially himself) had earned them. He disdains to name the amount the committee realized, but from the records and reports before us, we may estimate not far from \$400,000, including the value, at the time, of the stocks, preferred and common, forming part of the surplus.

"In 1859 I picked up this road—the Terre Haute, Alton and St. Louis Railroad—a waif. Its men had not been paid for five months. For protection against executions, its fuel was paid for as it was delivered upon the engines. I carried it alone for six months and indorsed for it personally in all, including renewals, to the amount of more than \$500,000. I gave it all my time and all my abilities, and after four years I delivered it up worth \$6,000,000. Five thousand dollars a year, without any commissions for indorsing, was all I was paid—all I demanded; but, if there is any such merit in service as is asserted, and if Mr. Tilden or the Purchasing Committee were entitled to steal \$200,000 or \$300,000 of bonds, then I claim it was my honest right to have stolen the railroad itself."

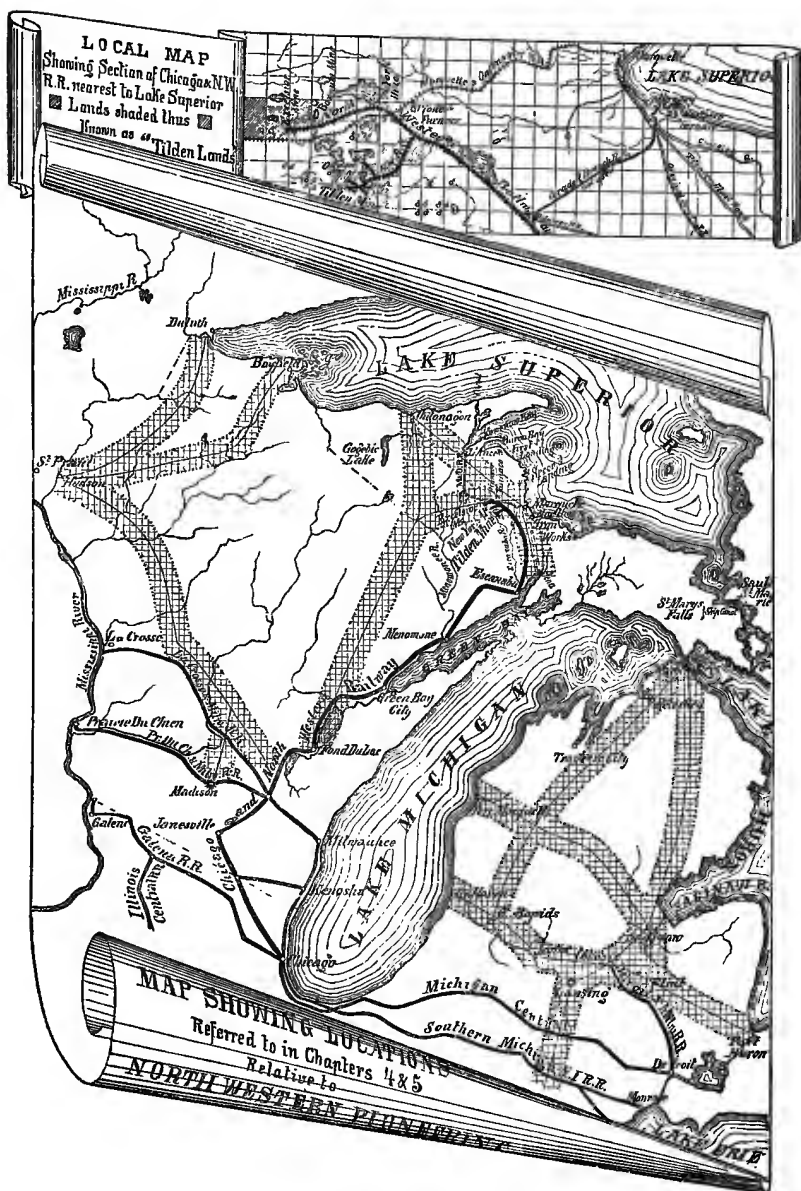
The reader will notice that Mr. Griswold charges Tilden with "perfidious attorneyship" as strongly as does the "Pioneer."

CHAPTER IV.

A NORTH-WESTERN PIONEER.

IN all the history of engineering skill and of successful daring, few, if any instances, excel the feats of a young man but twenty-three years of age, who, on the 4th day of June, 1853, as agent for the contractors, formally "broke ground" with the first shovelful of earth from the greatest of Canals with locks (the Suez has no locks), at the outlet of the greatest of Lakes; and, on the 19th day of April, 1855, being in *sole* charge of the work, with his own hands opened the sluice which first let the waters flow into the finished *prism* and locks, as it remains to this day. In another publication farther details may be found, but for the present we propose to merge the name of this remarkable builder into that indicating his general career in the then new North-west. We shall designate him for the present simply as the "Pioneer," for in that character he best appeals to our warmest regards and noblest sympathies.

After the completion of the St. Mary's Falls Ship Canal, under his supervision, and its being thrown open to commerce in 1855, his decision was to become a citizen of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, not doubting that there, honest and well-directed enterprise would insure a rich reward. He had chosen Marquette (see map) as his home, but had undertaken a public work at Ontonogon (see map), requiring his presence. In November of that year he was waiting there to take passage on the last steamer passing eastward that season, but a storm interfered with its landing, and so he found this means of egress cut off. There were then no wagon-roads except to the adjacent mines, twenty miles or so distant. Only a winter trail led to the Indian village of L'Ance, at the head of Kewenaw bay, and one other directly south to the head-waters of the Menominee river, and thence through Central Wisconsin. He must, in any event, wait for snow enough to enable him to use snow-shoes. While waiting thus, the idea struck him that, as he had pioneered the great canal, he would also pioneer the railroad to those isolated shores. A noble ambition, but how difficult, of accomplishment! The railway then nearest Lake Superior had only reached the lower end of Lake Winnebago, in Wisconsin (see map), nearly five hundred miles distant, with a trackless forest intervening. Nevertheless, the bold "Pioneer" determined to find out what pluck and per-



NOTE. — THE LINES IN SQUARES ON ABOVE MAP INDICATE THE AREA OF PUBLIC LANDS GRANTED BY CONGRESS, IN 1856, TO AID IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF RAILROADS IN THE STATES BORDERING ON LAKE SUPERIOR, AGGREGATING 6,901,577 ACRES, AS THE RESULT OF THE EFFORTS OF THE "PIONEER COMMISSIONER" (C. T. HARVEY). GRANTS TO IOWA, AND TO MINNESOTA, IN 1857, RESULTING FROM SAME CAUSE, COMPRISING OVER 7,000,000 ACRES, ARE NOT SHOWN.

severance would accomplish. Accordingly, while thus detained at Ontonogon, he drew up a series of Resolutions on this subject, which were adopted by a dozen or more of the residents of the town, at a meeting held in a barber's shop! Its projector was constituted their delegate to Congress, but to go at his own risk and expense.

Winter, with its wished-for snow having come, with one young man as companion* and two Canadian helpers, he set out (Dec. 3d, 1855), upon snow-shoes, for Kewenaw Bay, which divides the Copper from the Iron districts. (See map.)

Three days of weary travel, "camping" each night in the woods, brought them to the waters of the bay. There a small canoe-shaped boat was purchased, and the party started in it down the coast.

While crossing the entrance of Huron bay a fearful storm arose. They barely escaped destruction by the waves, to land on an uninhabited shore, there to lie for three days exposed to a driving snow-storm that piled in drifts about them and lined the shore with icebergs. (See first landing-place on map.)

Their provisions giving out, they again, on the partial subsidence of the storm, launched their little craft, and, committing themselves to the angry surf, rowed along the shore where perpendicular cliffs repelled the surging surf with a roar which guided the boatmen on their course, in the darkness of the ensuing night!

As the long, gloomy night passed on, having miraculously escaped foundering on a sunken reef, and benumbed by the fast-increasing cold, the only alternative was, either to be submerged by the ice, fast accumulating on the boat, or again seek the shore through the breakers — and *in the dark!*

The latter course was chosen, with full knowledge of the fearful hazard.

Rocky heights mainly lined the adjacent coast, and any attempt to land seemed certain death, but Providence kindly guided the boat to a low beach, the approach to which, in the utter darkness, they knew simply from the softer surging of the surf, and, following this voice of Providence, they were saved.† The Canadian "Voyageurs" were so nearly frozen that they had to be carried to a fire, which it took the "Pioneer" and his companion hours to kindle among the ice-laden fir trees, and on the ground covered with several feet of snow. (See second landing-place, as indicated on

* The companion above referred to was E. C. Hungerford, Esq., now residing at Chester, Conn., and recently a member of the Legislature of that State.

† Dr. Houghton, the celebrated geologist, was lost by the capsizing of his row-boat in the same lake-surf on the coast of the county named for him. Four men, "en

route" from Marquette eastward, in a boat, in a previous December, were frozen to death by the lake-spray congealing on them. A report of a similar fate befalling the "Pioneer" and his party was current for weeks at "L'Ance," where he purchased his boat, and sailed thence before the storm came on.

map.) On the following day the starving party reached Marquette, and the supplies, shelter and rest they so much needed.

At Marquette, then a hamlet but now a city, a second meeting was convened, and the "Pioneer's" commission to Congress was endorsed by representatives of the iron interests, assembled in a log school-house, dimly lighted with two or three tallow "dips."

After a brief rest, the "Pioneer" resumed his journey southward, in company with two citizens and two teams.

The people of the "settlement" (Marquette) turned out and broke a snow-path to the lumber camps of the upper Escanaba river, and in two days the mouth of the river was reached. Here the only path was on the ice, and the only inns were lumber mills along the shore. While pushing forward, opposite Oconto, the ice gave way, and the party narrowly escaped destruction. The fifth day Green Bay city was reached. Here a new meeting was called, and the "Pioneer's" commission further endorsed.

Among the speakers on that occasion was a rising country lawyer, who now holds a seat in the Senate of the United States, viz.: Hon. T. O. Howe. Two days more brought the "Pioneer" to Fond-du-Lac, Wis., and to railroad connections, late in the month of January, 1856. It will be seen that it took nearly twenty days of actual travel to get that distance from Ontonagon !

The "Pioneer" halted at Milwaukee, to lay his business before the manager of the only railway then leading North-west from that city, but his ideas were simply treated with derision.

Chicago was the next point made, and there Mr. Ogden was "interviewed," who expressed sympathy with the project, but offered no pecuniary assistance. From Chicago the indomitable "Pioneer" commissioner wended his way to Washington, and as he entered the hotel there, his fur coverings and snow-shoes strung to his baggage attracted a crowd of curious observers. His first move was to call upon General Cass, then Senator from Michigan, and who was his kinsman. His errand explained, the senator advised him to waste no time upon the preposterous idea that Congress would grant any lands to aid a railroad into those hyperborean regions. "Furthermore," said the veteran legislator, "the Southern members have recently, in caucus, resolved to oppose any and all railroad grants, and that ends the matter, at all events for this session." So said Senator Stewart from the same State, and so said all the Congressmen from the North-west. The "Pioneer" commissioner resolved not to give up his mission as hopeless without making a personal appeal to the Southern members. Upon enquiry, he found that their recognized leader in the

House was the Hon. Clement C. Clay, of Mobile, Alabama. Before calling on him, however, the "Pioneer" made a journey to New York, and procured a map to be lithographed, showing a railroad line between Mobile and New Orleans (the two places of greatest importance on the Gulf of Mexico), and Ontonagon and Marquette, the principal points on Lake Superior, and of which the only part then authorized by Congress or endowed by a Land Grant was the portion comprising the then-adopted line of the "Illinois Central R. R.," in that State, and from Cairo to Mobile, under the laws of "1850," being the first "United States Railroad Land Grant" ever made by act of Congress.

Armed with this map, the plucky "Pioneer" returned to Washington, and called on Mr. Clay.*

The interview between the two strangers lasted for several hours, at the close of which Mr. Clay promised to reassemble the caucus of Southern members, and have an exception made in favor of endowing the new routes, shown on the map before him!

To realize what a great thing was accomplished by the "Pioneer," in thus securing the co-operation of Mr. Clay and of the Southern members at that time, the fact should be stated that up to that date no railroad in the Northern States had received a grant from Congress since the Illinois Central Railroad grant in 1850, which was coupled with a grant for a connecting line through three Southern States to Mobile, as mentioned.

Missouri obtained a railroad grant in 1852, and again with Arkansas in 1853, both then being considered Southern States.

In 1854 a railroad land grant was made to the Territory of Minnesota on the 29th of June, only to be *repealed* on the 4th day of the following August, during the same session of Congress.

*This session of Congress was the one made memorable by the contest in the election of Speaker, which, after more than two months' delay, resulted in the choice of General Banks, the "Free-soil" candidate. Hot blood of both North and South was aroused. The "Pioneer" commissioner found it no easy matter to meet Mr. Clay, and avoid the exciting topic of the hour. But the result proved him equal to the emergency. "Mr. Clay," said he, "I hear secession proposed, and a division of the Union spoken of, about town. I have a plan to prevent any such catastrophe. Encourage the building of this grand railroad between the shores of

the greatest of Lakes and the greatest of Gulfs; when it is completed, you rivet your end of the rail to the hills on the shores of Mobile bay, and I will rivet the northern end to the cliffs of Lake Superior. Thus bound together, the Union cannot be broken." Mr. Clay responded pleasantly to this diplomatic idea, and from that moment entered into the proposed scheme with entire cordialty. The "Pioneer" retired with a favorable opinion of Mr. Clay as a high-toned Southern gentleman, not seeking merely private ends, but acting for the public interests solely in the subject before him.

No more such grants were considered possible to be sanctioned, until the "Pioneer" obtained Mr. Clay's cordial support, as stated.

The Mobile route being endowed, the New Orleans or Jackson route was adopted by Mr. Clay, and other routes in the South added to offset additional lines at the North which he intimated a willingness to support.

When this fact was reported to Senator Cass and others, they were incredulous, but inquiry soon satisfied them of its truth. Immediately the North-western members held a conference and agreed that, as the ice was now broken, they would add on more lines in the States of Iowa, Minnesota,* Wisconsin and Michigan. They did so by coupling Iowa and Alabama in a grant, in May, 1856, and the others (except Minnesota) in June of that year. Although vast grants were involved, still Mr. Clay made good his word to the "Pioneer," by securing a solid vote of Southern members therefor.

Mr. Ogden had sent an agent in haste to represent his corporate interests; others did the same, and the result was, that within six months after that skeleton meeting at Ontonagon, and that "Pioneer's" commencement of his perilous journey, Congress had endowed 1,800 miles of railroad in those four North-western States, with 9,574,498 acres of land, beside equally important gifts to various Southern States. The share of these land grants accruing to the Chicago and North-western Railroad Company alone amounted to over 1,600,000 acres ! †

The original cause of this astonishing result was the perilous journey and persistent energy of that young "Pioneer." I have the original map which secured Mr. Clay's sympathy and support to that "pioneering" idea, which map, on a reduced scale, taken by the photo-lithographic process, will be found opposite.

The young "Pioneer," then in his twenty-seventh year, did not proclaim, nor probably realize, the fact, that he had done more to promote the growth of the great North-west than any other man of his time. His only ambition was to be identified with that part of the endowed roads which was to lead to Lake Superior, his adopted home. The reader will naturally suppose that the author of this mighty impulse was the recipient of princely reward. Mark the sequel !

He found in Mr. Ogden a magnetic gentleman of plausible address, and was only too happy to confide in, and defer to him, as the proper leader of the new enterprise, with its munificent endowment. He had not met with Tilden up to that time. That misfortune came at a later date !

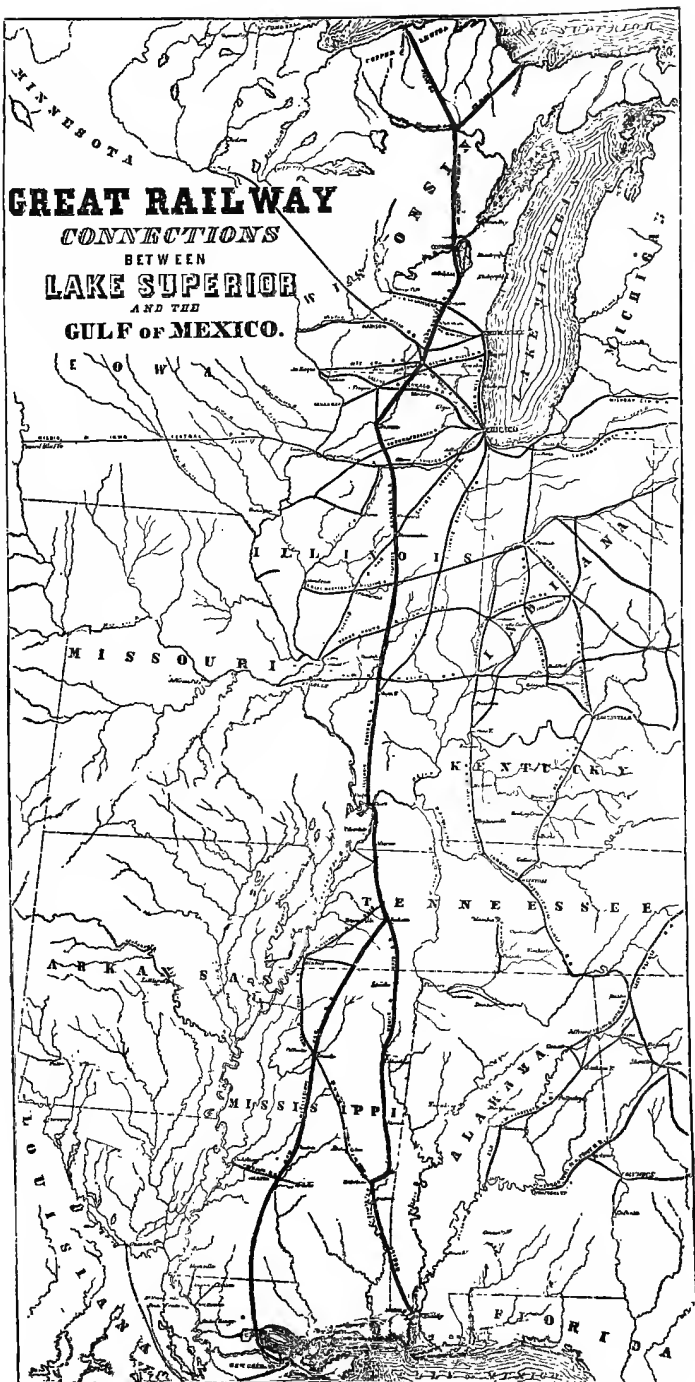
It was agreed by Mr. Ogden and the "Pioneer" that the latter should devote his time and energies mainly in supervising the local surveys, to open a route to the great lake, under the corporate organization known as

* The Land Grants to Minnesota were not made (owing to local causes) until the SHORT SESSION OF THE SAME CONGRESS, when above four millions of acres were donated, *not* included in above aggregate.
 † Subsequently reduced by change of route to 964,230 acres, actually conveyed by it to the U. S.

*PIONEER COMMISSIONER'S MAP.**

Presented to Congress, February, 1856, by C. T. HARVEY, of Michigan, with approval of Hon. C. C. Clay, M. C. from Mobile, Ala., resulting in the gift from the U. S., in May and June, 1856, of 9,574,498 acres of land to three North-western States, for railroad purposes; Minnesota receiving over 4,000,000 acres in the next session of the same Congress.

** Reduced by photo-lithographic process from original size of $1\frac{1}{4}$ by 3 feet.*



the Chicago, St. Paul and Fond Du Lac Railroad Company, of which Ogden was President.

The "Pioneer" organized surveying parties in 1856-7, and was appointed Managing Director of the Lake Superior branches. He attended the Legislature the following session, and obtained all desired legislation, involving a prodigious amount of labor, management, and perseverance. In the spring of 1857, when all this was done, and actual construction of the road was expected to begin, behold, the Chicago, St. Paul and Fond Du Lac Railroad Company, Wm. B. Ogden, President, *had failed!* The "Pioneer's" salary and expenses were unpaid; also the drafts for expenses of the surveys, ordered from New York, through him, came back protested, and he had to borrow money on his own account to pay off employes, which he had been officially instructed, by President Ogden, to engage!

These outlays have never been returned to him! Not suspecting that there was any dishonorable speculation concealed under the apparent catastrophe, he sympathized with Ogden as the greater loser, and said nothing about his own losses, expecting that, when brighter days returned, they should, as promised, be made up to him!

After the failure of the Chicago, St. Paul and Fond du Lac Railroad Company, in 1857, a couple of years intervened before Tilden and Ogden had incubated their plans for "reorganization" under the name of the "Chicago and North-Western Railroad Company," so as to retain its control for themselves, while providing for its farther extension.

A full statement of the same is to be found in Stow's Railway Annual for 1859, page 414. It is there announced that "Samuel J. Tilden" was constituted "one of the two agents to attend to the sale of the road under the two mortgages, and to bid in the same in behalf of the 'Subscribing Bondholders.'" William B. Ogden was the President, and Charles Butler, Treasurer. Gross earnings for 1858, \$414,143. In the Board of Directors, in 1859, appears the name of the "Pioneer." The lands granted by Congress for the first twenty miles along the route north from Fond du Lac, Wis., were, in the company's report, estimated at a value of \$1,800,000, and certificates were to be issued therefor as a part payment of indebtedness for which Ogden had been an endorser!

The reader will thus see, by remarkable and most conclusive proofs, that the "Pioneer" was a recognized railroad associate of Tilden as far back as 1858 and 1859, and that the results of his volunteer pioneering efforts and uncompensated labor were even then of immense value, according to Tilden's own official estimates, as published at that time. These facts and the antecedent circumstances, as narrated thus far, will prepare the reader to appreciate *the nefarious meanness, covetousness, and perfidy,*

developed by the Wall-street legal spider, Samuel J. Tilden, in the events of succeeding years.

NORTH-WESTERN PIONEERING.

After the failure of Tilden and Ogden's old railroad organization, in 1857, nothing was done about opening communication with Lake Superior for five long years, during which time they disclaimed any intention of farther efforts to that end.

In 1861 the Legislature of Michigan passed an act declaring all the land grants in that State, controlled by Tilden and Ogden, forfeited to the State, and open for acquisition by any other corporations who could construct the desired railroads. But no *bona-fide* applicants appeared.

Meantime Ogden proposed to the "Pioneer" to acquire control of the forfeited land grants, and open up a passenger route to Lake Superior in any way the "Pioneer" might deem practicable, pledging the Chicago and North-Western Railway Company to aid and assist him so to do,* and also to make a contract with him for steamboat connections for so long a term of years that the profits of the latter portion of the term would make up for the losses certain to accrue in the first years of the undertaking.

Ogden had his Board of Directors pass a resolution to that effect, which will be found in the company's records under date of April 19th, 1861.

In consequence of this proposal, reduced to specific contract form, as shown in the portion appended in the marginal foot-note,† the "Pioneer," without sufficient capital, by sheer personal exertion, undertook to accomplish the object proposed.

His success was certainly astonishing. Notably, at the beginning of the year 1861 there was no wagon road from the waters of Green Bay to those of Lake Superior, and it required from the 13th to the 23d of March to

* This was made good only to the extent of about \$5,000.

† "THIS MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT, made this 23d day of May, of 1862, by and between The Chicago and North-Western Railway Company, party of the first part, and the Lake Superior Forwarding Company, of Wisconsin, as the Assignee of Charles T. Harvey, party of the second part, Witnesseth:

"WHEREAS, The party of the first part did, in conformity with a resolution of the Board of Directors, under date of the 19th of April, 1861, make on the 13th of May, 1861, a proposition to Charles T. Harvey to induce him to undertake the establishment of a passenger and mail route to Lake Superior via Green Bay, Wisconsin, by which the said party of the first part would be benefited; and offering in consideration therefor to him or to the Lake Superior Forwarding Company, as his Assignee, certain exclusive privileges and benefits contingent upon his prosecution of the enterprise; and WHEREAS SAID HARVEY HAS PROSECUTED HIS UNDERTAKING, AS CONTEMPLATED, and now desires to assign his interest and privileges in said route to the Lake Superior

Forwarding Company, and to have a contract in due form issued to it in his stead, the Chicago and North-Western Railway Company consents thereto, and the parties of the first and second part above named hereby agree to the following basis of business connection:—

(Here follow the terms, covering several pages.)

"This contract is to continue in force for the term of ten years from date of these presents, with the privilege of renewal for another like term of years.

"In Testimony whereof, the President and Secretary of the Chicago and North-Western Railway of the first part, and the President and Secretary of the Lake Superior Forwarding Company of the second part, all duly authorized thereto, have set their hands and caused the seals of the said companies to be thereto affixed, etc.

"CHICAGO & NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY Co.,

"By F. H. SMITH, Acting Pres'.

"LAKE SUPERIOR FORWARDING Co.,

By C. T. HARVEY, Acting Pres't."

make the trip from Chicago to Marquette, and from April 23d to the 29th to make the return trip. (See Note 1.)

It came to pass that during that season (1861) he constructed a good road across the peninsula, introduced a line of four-horse stages, and had a steamboat line running in connection on Green Bay, so that the time from Chicago to Marquette, for passengers, by comfortable conveyance, and also for the mails, was reduced to thirty-six hours. (See Note 2.)

The physical energy and endurance which he displayed at this time may challenge comparison with that of any other early "Pioneer" in the North-west. (See Note 3.)

In 1862 the "Pioneer" made still greater progress towards his all-absorbing aim of the railroad to Lake Superior.

On the 21st of February, 1862, he personally filed the articles of a new railroad corporation formed by him and styled the Peninsula Railroad Company of Michigan. Of the stock of the corporation enough was subscribed for in the name of other persons to comply with the General Incorporating Act of Michigan, and to constitute Directors; *but every dollar of cash paid on the stock, to cover the expenses of convening the State officers, and for surveys, and other outlays, was paid solely by the "Pioneer."*

NOTE 1. The following is a diary of the trip of Dr. J. J. St. Clair, delegate from Lake Superior District to the Chicago Republican Convention (which nominated Lincoln for his first term), and of the "Pioneer," who accompanied him.

"April 23. 1860.—Left Marquette 6 A. M.; reached 'East Branch' of Escanaba river, to find it swollen with spring freshet; crossed on an improvised raft, at great risk of life; went to lumber camp of 'West Branch' to find it abandoned and roof gone; slept there over night.

"April 24.—Walked twenty-five miles to 'Farm' station; slept on floor.

"April 25.—Rose at 4 A. M.; hired boat to take us to mouth of river, letting it down over falls with a rope; arrived at 10 A. M.

"April 26.—Bought Mackinaw boat, and sailed for Menominee river; reached Quimby's hotel 10 P. M.

"April 27.—Took steamer for Green Bay city.

"April 28.—Hired team to take us to Oshkosh.

"April 29.—Arrived at Chicago!"

NOTE 2. The new mail route was strenuously opposed by E. B. Ward, the great proprietor of steamboats on the Western lakes in those days. He caused the postmaster at Detroit to write to the Postmaster-General "that Harvey might as well try to carry the Lake Superior mails to the moon, as through the swamps of the Upper Peninsula, when not frozen." Learning when the contract mail was to start from Green Bay north, he induced the Detroit post-office (then the distributing post-office for the North-west) to withhold mails due in Minnesota and Dakota, as well as on Lake Superior, by other routes for weeks previous, and send it all to Green Bay, marked for Marquette, by the first trip!

When the "Pioneer" arrived at Green Bay, to see the mail start for the first time, he found some thirty large sacks, or a hundred bushels of mail, waiting transportation! He sent it back by teams to Oshkosh, thence by rail to Chicago, assort-

ing it himself on the way, and thus fully disclosing the fraud, of 95 per cent being mis sent.

Meantime, clamorous telegrams and letters poured in from the Western points on the routes lacking the misdirected mails.

Ward laid the blame on the new line; and at one point on Lake Superior the "Pioneer" was being in effigy by the misinformed citizens!

Going to Washington, he found two U. S. Senators at the P. O. Department in the interest of Ward, urging a discontinuance of the mail route!

The "Pioneer" heard the statements, and then related his experience with the hundred bushels of mail matter for the new route! The senators were indignant when they saw the plot thus exposed, to which they were unwitting abettors. They shook hands with the "Pioneer" and departed, and the new mail service has remained undisturbed to this day!

NOTE 3. During that year the "Pioneer" left the northern end of Green Bay, on horseback, and alone, at 6 P. M., and arrived at Lake Superior before 2 A. M. of a dark, rainy night, without leaving his saddle, or without having light enough to distinguish the form of his horse! Distance, 45 miles!

Another incident is worth preserving:—

The "Pioneer" appeared, "solitary and alone," at Quimby's hotel, at the mouth of the Menominee river, late on Saturday night, April 20, 1861,

covered with mud from head to foot. He informed the landlord that he had swam his horse across a creek, a mile or two distant, in the dark, and found on the opposite side a morass, in which his horse had stuck fast! He had, therefore, left the animal there, but had waded through to dry land himself, and made his way to shelter. Mr. Quimby went out the next day and found the horse in the midst of the quagmire, in the spot where left by the rider!

This was the "Pioneer's" last trip overland from Lake Superior.

Neither Tilden nor any of the Chicago and North-Western R. R. Company contributed one cent! The stock was held by the "Pioneer," although, as an act of policy and courtesy, he constituted the President, Vice-President and Secretary of the Chicago and North-Western Railroad Company, Directors and Officers of the new organization.

On the 16th of April, 1862, he applied in person to the State authorities to obtain the lapsed railroad land grant, as appears from the annexed transcript from the State records.

[Extract from State Records.]

"DETROIT, MICHIGAN, April 16, 1862.

"A meeting of the Board of Control of Railroad Grants for the State of Michigan, convened this day at 2 o'clock, P. M., at the Michigan Exchange, upon the call of Governor Blair. Present, —

"Hon. Omar D. Conger, Hon. Hovey K. Clarke, Hon. Perley Bills, Hon. Charles Tripp, Hon. Wilder D. Foster.

"The Governor being absent, Hon. Omar D. Conger was called to the chair. The object of the meeting was stated to be to hear the application of the Peninsula

Railroad Company for the grant of lands which this Board is authorized to confer by Act No. 90, approved March 4th, 1861, of the Session Laws of that year.

"CHARLES T. HARVEY, Esq., one of the Directors of the Company, was present, and after conference with the Board, the meeting was, at his request, adjourned to meet at the same place on 24th of April, at 2 o'clock, P. M.

"Adjourned.

"Attest:

"WILDER D. FOSTER,

"Secretary."

At the adjourned meeting on the 24th of April, 1862, his request was granted.

He proceeded thence to Washington, and secured the passage of a joint resolution by Congress, extending the time of the grant, and authorizing a change in its location. The first section of the resolution as drafted by him is annexed.* The reader is asked to compare the route prescribed by Congress with that adopted by Tilden, as shown on map opposite page 25.

* UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

PUBLIC RESOLUTION NO. 35.

JOINT RESOLUTION relative to a certain grant of lands for railroad purposes, made to the State of Michigan, in eighteen hundred and fifty-six.

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled. That the words "Wisconsin State line" in the first section of an Act entitled "An Act making a grant of lands to the State of Michigan, in alternate sections, to aid in the construction of railroads in said State," approved June third, eighteen hundred and fifty-six, shall, without forfeiture to said State, or its assigns, of any rights or benefits under said act, or exemption from any of the conditions or obligations imposed thereby, be construed to authorize the location of the line of railroad provided for in said act, from *Marquette on Lake Superior, to the Wisconsin State line, upon any eligible route from the township of Marquette aforesaid, to a point on the Wisconsin State line, near the mouth of the Menomonee river, and touching at favorable points*

on Green Bay, with a view of securing a railroad available for military purposes from Green Bay to the waters of Lake Superior. And the line of railroad, as now located in pursuance of said act, from Marquette to the Wisconsin State line, according to the records of the General Land Office, is hereby authorized to be changed, so as to conform to the route above indicated; which line, when surveyed, and the maps and plans thereof filed in the proper office, as required under said act of June third, eighteen hundred and fifty-six, shall confer the same rights upon and benefits to the State of Michigan, and its assigns, in said new line, as though the same had been originally located under said act.

* * * * *

Approved July 5, 1862.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, July 25, 1862.

The foregoing is a true copy of the original resolution, No. 35, on file in this Department.

(Signed)

W. C. HUNTER,
Chief Clerk.

The "Pioneer" next instituted a regular system of surveys under an engineer of experience recommended by Amasa Stone, Esq., of Cleveland, Ohio.

The result was the demonstration that the shortest possible line between the waters of Green Bay and Lake Superior was the best route for a railroad, and that the ease of its grades, the long stretches of air-line, and the small amount of grading and bridging were quite wonderful.* Besides this, the route lay through the finest tract of timber lands, the best water powers, and agricultural territory, to be found in the Upper Peninsula.

When the celebrated firm of railroad builders, Stone & Witt, of Cleveland, Ohio, saw the final notes of the surveyed route as established by the "Pioneer," they at once offered to undertake the building of the line in partnership with the "Pioneer," provided the good-will of the C. & N. W. Railroad Company was assured. The "Pioneer" applied to Mr. Ogden, as President, for such assurance, according to previous pledges.

But Ogden was also surprised at the favorable nature of the survey, and, while discouraging Stone & Witt, induced the "Pioneer" to go to New York and confer with Samuel J. Tilden as a most able, experienced, and honorable financier in railroad enterprises.

Thus, in the spring of 1863, the "Pioneer" met this subtle lawyer for almost the first time on personal business. Tilden had then a great reputation as a successful railroad lawyer, and when he made proposals to act as the "Pioneer's" attorney in the disposal and management of the enterprise, it was quite natural that his specious offer should be accepted.

It came to pass, therefore, that, without a dollar of investment or of risk, Samuel J. Tilden had this vast landed property and most promising enterprise freely and promptly entrusted to him *as a Trustee for the owner.*

* EXTRACTS FROM REPORT OF SURVEY.

By S. H. SELDEN, C. E.

OF DIRECT ROUTE FROM LAKE SUPERIOR, AT SEC. 6, T. 47, R. 24, TO STEAMBOAT DOCK AT GENA, ON LITTLE BAY DE NOC.

NOTE.—For sake of calculation in reference to "cut off" the surveyed line will be divided into two sections. 1st. From Lake Superior to Summit or point of divergence, and 2d, from Summit to Bay De Noc.

The distance by air-line is.....45 miles.
" " surveyed line.....46.78 "

North Section.—Distance.....17.61 "

Grades.—Of level.....1.72
10 to 20 feet to mile... 2.37
20 to 40 " " 2.70
40 to 52.81 " " 20.82

¹ NOTE.—This is the result of first surveyed line. The engineer in charge reports that some slight variations of the line will reduce all the grades to a maximum of forty feet per mile.

South Section.—Distance.....29.17 miles.

Grades.—Of level.....7.81 miles.
Between level and 20
feet.....7.63 "
Between 20 and 40 ft..9.89 "
" 40 and 42 ft..8.34 "

CURVES.

Twenty-six continuous miles in the Southern Section are upon an air-line. The remainder of the line is mostly on straight lines, with few and easy connecting curvatures, the line being remarkably favorable in these particulars.

CONSTRUCTION WORK.

<i>North Section.</i>		Estimates.
Quantities.		
247,528 cubic yards earth excavation, @ 25c.,		\$61,882
10,000 " " rock " @ \$1 ..		10,000
365 lineal feet trestle work, @ \$8.....		2,920
330 " " " @ \$8.....		1,980
Box culverts.....		1,335
17 miles clearing and grubbing, @ \$435,		7,395
Average cost per mile, \$4,855.87.		\$85,512

<i>South Section.</i>		Estimates.
Quantities.		
200,180 cubic yards earth, @ 25c.....		\$50,045
1,000 " " rock, @ \$1.....		1,000
210 lineal feet trestle work, @ \$8,		1,680
25 " " " @ \$6,		150
Box culverts.....		810
29 miles clearing and grubbing,		
@ \$435.....		12,615
Average cost per mile, \$2,273.		\$66,300
Average per mile on whole line, \$3,245.		
Total cost.....		\$151,812

CHAPTER V.

TILDEN'S PERFIDIOUS ATTORNEYSHIP.

THE "Pioneer's" arrangements with Tilden were substantially as follows: that the land grant (nearly 750,000 acres) and organization of the Peninsula Railroad Company should be vested in Tilden as attorney, in trust, by a transfer to him of its entire stock then held by the "Pioneer."

The expenses of the latter for surveys, etc., were to be refunded to him, and an allowance made to him, for his promoting services, of such sum as three referees should say was just and proper; that this allowance he could, at his option, apply in payment for a tenth interest in the stock, at the same rate per share as Tilden or other cash subscribers took the same.

Tilden assured him that the railroad would be pushed to Lake Superior with all possible speed. On this point self-interest seemed to preclude all doubt. Naturally such assurances were deemed satisfactory. A bond was taken of the Company to assure the payment of the award when made, and a letter from Tilden to show the nature and condition of the trust, substantially in form and tenor as follows:—

"LAW OFFICE S. J. TILDEN,
"No. 12 Wall street, May 12, 1863.

"CHARLES T. HARVEY, Esq.:—

"DEAR SIR,—I propose to act as your attorney in the matter of the Peninsula Railroad Company of Michigan, in receiving its stock from you and delivering the same to capitalists whose subscriptions I am to procure, upon the understanding and agreement between us that I will see that the following stipulations for your benefit are faithfully performed.

"FIRST. That your disbursements for expenses of surveys, Congressional and Legislative attendance, etc., shall be repaid to you in cash forthwith (estimated at about \$8,000).

"SECOND. That when your prior claims for services and expenses, during the seven years since you first promoted this land grant, are adjusted by the referees named in the bond, agreed to be delivered to you,

by the Company, to secure a maximum sum of \$50,000, the amount of their award, shall be paid to you in money whenever the lands can be sold, *or, at your option*, may be applied in payment of a one-tenth interest in the stock (which will be carried for you until said award is settled), which stock shall be furnished to you at the same rate per share as allotted to myself and the other original subscribers.

"THIRD. In matters connected with the location and construction of the Lake Superior section of said railroad your interests are to be consulted and wishes complied with as far as practicable.

"To obviate any hesitation on your part because this memorandum may not be in such form as to be legally binding on the company, I will undertake to retain sufficient control to guarantee its observance, and *hereby pledge to you my SACRED HONOR for its faithful performance.*"

"(Signed) SAMUEL J. TILDEN."

Upon his faith in the signer's personal and professional integrity, the "Pioneer," with this written pledge, proceeded to legally transfer to him the whole property, comprising an area of land nearly equal to the State of Rhode Island! *It was the great business mistake of the "Pioneer's" life!*

Some lawyers thus honored with the confidence of their client, would have been doubly scrupulous, to see every obligation fully carried out.

Not so with Tilden! The moment he held the legal title, the confiding owner was treated with indifference, and soon with open hostility! The referees named in the bond were Hon. E. Fairbanks, Governor of Vermont, and Hon. William Kelly, of Rhinebeck, N. Y. (the latter subscribing for a large interest in the Peninsula stock and bonds). They chose as third referee Hon. Erastus Corning, of Albany. These three eminent men met at the St. Nicholas Hotel, on the 14th day of May, 1864, and heard a statement of the "Pioneer's" services. They *unanimously* awarded him the maximum sum named (\$50,000), although Mr. Kelly was, as stated, an adverse owner! The fac-simile of the original award, with the signatures of these gentlemen, is appended, in a photo-lithographic copy thereof:—

St. Nicholas Hotel N.Y. May 14, 1864
Whereas we the undersigned Erastus Fairbanks
and William Kelly arbitrators agreed upon
by the parties to a bond of which the annexed
is a true copy do hereby certify that we met by
the request of the officers of the Peninsula Rail
Road company on the 14th day of May A.D. 1864
and mutually agreed upon Erastus Corning as
the third person to sit with us and pass upon the
matter named in the condition of said bond
and after fully hearing the parties and, a careful
examination of the matter submitted do unanim-
ously award and direct that the said sum stand
as the same is named in the bond at fifty thousand
dollars (\$50,000) and that no deduction be made
therefrom. Given under our hands this 14th day of
May A.D. 1864.

Erastus Fairbanks
William Kelly
Erastus Corning

Before paying any of the award, and but a few months after its amount was fixed, Tilden sold the Peninsula Railroad to the Chicago and North-Western Railway Company, for a net cash profit of over \$1,371,660, as demonstrated by Mr. Parton.*

But when the "Pioneer" called for his quota he could get no satisfaction! At last he despatched a Chicago lawyer to New York, with the original agreement as signed by Tilden, to obtain a settlement. Tilden, by bribing the "Pioneer's" lawyer, gained possession of the "sacred honor" document, and either kept, or destroyed it! The aforesaid lawyer returned to Chicago without it, stating that he had left it, at Tilden's request, to "*refresh his memory*," and that he would attend to it shortly! That lawyer was soon found to be retained as counsel for the Chicago and North-Western Railroad!

The "*Pioneer*" never received one dollar on account of Tilden's "*sacred honor*" pledge; but the latter, according to well-known instincts of human depravity, cordially hated the client he had thus defrauded out of \$137,166,* as the valuation of the reserved *tenth* interest.

In this transaction the "Pioneer" lost a fortune and gained only an implacable and persistent enemy, as the sequel will demonstrate!

In proof of the accuracy of this narrative we have most of the original documents herein referred to, save only the original guarantee of Tilden's "sacred honor"; but the draft of the points of that, as made at the time, is used to supply its absence. The Chicago lawyer has departed this life, or his name would be given.

* Mr. Parton, in his Manual, page 48, says:—

"We will now review the consolidation brought about by the 'Ring' of the Peninsula Railway.

"They obtained a guarantee of \$1,029,000 of bonds, issued at seventy-five cents on the dollar, which Mr. Ogden reports were worth par. There is a profit of \$257,250

"They received, or had the option of taking, \$1,196,500 in

preferred stock, which Mr. Ogden in his printed circular of the same year says averaged a value of \$90 a share. It cost them \$25,

777,725

"They also had in the same way \$1,166,500 netting in common stock, which Mr. Ogden in same circular quoted at \$54, costing them \$25, leaving them \$29 profit per share, or

336,685

\$1,371,660

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY.

No. 1.] ALL MESSAGES TAKEN BY THIS COMPANY ARE RECEIVED SUBJECT TO THE FOLLOWING CONDITIONS:

To provide against mistakes, every message of consequence should be repeated, by being telegraphed back from each repeating station and the terminal station to the next in the regular line. The Company will not be responsible for mistakes or delays in the transmission of, nor for the non-delivery of telegraphic messages beyond the amount received for sending the same. Nor will the Company be responsible for mistakes or delays in the transmission of, nor for the non-delivery of telegraphic messages beyond the amount received for sending the same, unless it be specially insured for an agreed amount. Nor will the Company be responsible for delays arising from unavoidable interruptions to the working of their lines. Nor for errors in cipher or obscure messages, unless insured. Nor for instances of delay or other company over whose lines any message may be sent, and this Company is hereby made the agent of the sender of any message, to forward it over the lines of each other company.

Correctness in the transmission of messages to any point on the lines of this Company, can be insured, at the time of sending, by an agreement in writing, stating the amount of the insurance, and the time within which the message is to be delivered. The repeated messages, viz.—One per cent, on such amount of rate for any distance not exceeding 1,000 miles, and two per cent if the distance exceeds 1,000 miles.

J. H. WADE, Pres't O. H. PALMER, Sec'y, Rochester, N. Y. ANSON STAGER, Gen'l Sup't, Cleveland, O.

To J. A. Redington M^{rs}. From New York Dated 21st

Buy for a friend of mine

100 shares of Western

Iron Company Stock of Charles

& Morse North Eighth St

per share pay at high as twenty

five (25) if necessary Manage

carefully, and confidentially attend

immediately telegraph results from

for stock take certificate from to transfer

Draw at sight 50 of 1000

CHAPTER VI.

PURSUING HIS VICTIM.

TILDEN's control of the Peninsula Railroad gave him almost unlimited power in the repression or development of the various manufacturing and mining points in the iron district.

The "Pioneer" was the largest owner in two L. S. Iron Furnaces, which business he was the first to introduce in that section of the North-west.

One was located at the mines, and known as the Pioneer furnace. The other, at the mouth of the Chocolet river, a few miles south-east from Marquette, was known as the "Northern" Furnace, where also he had projected the village of "Harvey." Tilden set at work all the agencies he could devise to embarrass and ruin the "Pioneer" in these local business enterprises!

Notably was this the case respecting the "Pioneer Works," which the "Pioneer," by individual loans and endorsements, had saved from collapse during the trying years immediately succeeding 1857.

Tilden conceived the idea of buying up the control of the stock of that company, and of absorbing the property without paying its debts.

The "Pioneer" discovered the plot through the annexed telegraphic despatch, kindly placed in his hands by a friend:—

(For fac-simile see opposite page.)

The signatures of a majority of the stockholders were at once secured to an agreement, not to sell individually, unless all should sell together. Tilden, by an agent, found that one firm of brokers in New York would break their written contract, for a bribe of 500 per cent. over the market value of the stock.* He paid the bribe at once, and by that means obtained the control of the property! Then, by tricky leases and "consolidations," he placed the property in such position that judgments against the company could not be collected, and caused the "Pioneer" to lose his outstanding loans to it! Besides this there was an unsettled running account, with a balance in the "Pioneer's" favor. The latter was told to produce his vouchers and leave them with the new managers for examination, and, if correct, the same would be settled. He did so, by leaving the original papers with C. J. Canda, Treasurer, on a personal guaranty of their safe-

* The firm, well known in New York city, with no dishonorable intention on their part, he claim that Tilden secured the sale by a trick, forcing it over their protest.

keeping and return to him. But after waiting years for an adjustment, he again wrote to Canda for a final answer and return of the papers. He received the following letter in reply:—

CHARLES A. CANDA,
270 Broadway

IRON CLIFFS COMPANY,

250 West Street

New-York, *May 24th* 1869

Charles T. Harvey Esq.
Courthouse Street.

Dear Sir,

Your note of Saturday with the enclosure has been received.

I have not given up the idea of having an interview with Mr. Tilden regarding your matter. I have been to see him a great many times found him very busy with different suits. among others the Union Pacific and now he is in Philadelphia I am informed.

As soon as I can I will have him say what he will do. When I will return your papers. You cannot expect them before I should think. They are perfectly safe

Yours truly
Chas. A. Canda

Those papers have never been returned!

Tilden never had leisure to attend to the matter! He retains control of the "Pioneer" Furnace property in 1876! Canda has been kept busy by his master in sharp practices in other directions, as will shortly appear!

The other, or "Northern" furnace interest, was, as before stated, at the nearest feasible point on Lake Superior to be reached by a railroad across

the peninsula from Green bay. The railroad was a necessity for the success of the business there, and for the location as a business point.

Tilden, knowing this, enjoined the railroad from being built there, and consequently from going to Lake Superior at all!

Tilden's agent at Marquette caused a survey to be made, to find, if possible, a route for a branch railroad to Marquette without going through the "Pioneer's" property. An entire season was occupied in surveys, but no practicable route could be found elsewhere than as laid out by the "Pioneer" to, and through his village. Consequently, in 1876, the great Chicago & North Western Railway goes within *eight miles* of the greatest lake in the world, but not *to* it, lest a man whom Tilden had marked for ruin should be benefited thereby! (See map opposite page 25.)

Experts have estimated that this malice of Tilden's cost the Chicago & North-Western Railroad a million of dollars by the mislocation of its route, and a million dollars more in the loss of profits in the first ten years of its business in that district! This is a low estimate. Probably three millions of dollars would be nearer the truth! *

The "Pioneer" purchased wood, to feed the furnace last mentioned, on some of the same lands he had entrusted to Tilden, expecting to pay therefor from proceeds of his just claims before mentioned. The latter, evading the payment, forced a forfeiture of the timber privilege, and thereby had the supreme satisfaction of causing over 10,000 cords of wood cut for such use, to rot in worthless heaps, or be burnt by forest fires, rather than the same should benefit his victim!

Again, Tilden led the "Pioneer" into a deceptive contract for building a Branch road to Lake Superior, by which the latter lost over \$60,000, and the Branch remains unfinished to this day! The "Pioneer," concluding in 1864-5 that he was being involved in too unequal a contest, migrated from the home of his adoption. Tilden's subtlety seems to be successful; but is such result final? Let us wait and see!

It only remains to be stated that Tilden contrived or aided another plot, by which the "Pioneer" was robbed of his contract privileges for starting the steamboat line on Green Bay, without any allowance, or adjustment, of his vested rights, as pledged by the contract shown on page 30.

Tilden afterwards had the Chicago & North-Western Company pay \$50,000 in one sum to certain of his confederates for the very advantages thus confiscated, showing *his* and their *utter contempt for contract obligations*.

It is presumed that without farther examples the reader is satisfied that to Tilden belongs the title bestowed upon him by a business associate, "Prince of Thieves!"

*During the earlier years the connecting railroad to Lake Superior was of a different gauge. An immense freight and passenger business could

have been built up, had the short line been adopted and facilities afforded. Tilden's mines and malice overshadowed such results.

CHAPTER VII.

"RING SPECULATIONS."

As soon as he had completed his Peninsula Railroad swindles, Tilden turned his attention to Mining Ventures and Town Site arrangements.

Parton alludes to the subject as follows (page 41) : —

"The 'Ring' finally, in May, '63, took the control of the company and proceeded to build the route across the peninsula. The south end they located on land, to which they obtained a third interest from the original owners, as a consideration for such location. Out of this they will make one or two hundred thousand dollars; but to build up that location every ton of freight has to be conveyed about ten miles farther alongside navigable waters than was necessary, for which no more compensation can accrue to the company than on the shorter line. This ten miles of road cost the company \$400,000 extra.

"The next move of the 'Ring' was to buy up or lease a large tract of land near the celebrated iron mines of Marquette County. They purchased about 38,000 acres of land for \$500,000, which were originally selected by Mr. Harvey for the St. Mary's Canal Company. On this they started a Corporation called the 'Iron Cliffs Company,' with a capital of a million of dollars. Finding various second-rate ledges of ore in it, they started into mining, and named one incipient mine the 'Tilden,' another the 'Ogden,' a third the 'Dunlap,' etc., and giving out that each of them was probably equal to the Jackson and other well-established mines, yielding great profits. They sold off stock as high as 100 per cent. premium, it is said, and thus had a margin of several hundred thousand dollars in that speculation. The Peninsula Railway was at once headed for that tract of land, and when it

came to a point of divergence from the route towards the Jackson and other of the great producing mines, a branch was made through the tract of land purchased, to the 'Tilden,' the 'Dunlap' and the 'Ogden' mines, a distance of some six miles. In such haste were the 'Ring' to get to their own mines, that they ordered this branch built in the dead of winter, with snow five feet deep. The cost was fearful. Often 300 men were shovelling snow exclusively for days and weeks together, at a pay of \$3.00 each per diem. The track was laid down and shipments were ordered from the large piles of ore, also taken out in winter and placed convenient for shipping. When shipments were made it was discovered that the ore was not of a quality which would warrant its use, all the mines were abandoned and the 'branch' has yet to earn its first dollar, probably, to the railway company. Mr. Tilden then leased another mine beyond the Jackson mine, and the road was pushed through to that. This turned out better, but the unfortunate 'Iron Cliffs Company,' whose stock was by that time below par, does not, it is said, get the benefit of that; but it is *an individual affair of Mr. Tilden's*, and what is made on that he alone or the 'Ring' has the right to. At one time it was proposed as the basis of a Stock Company on a valuation of the lease of \$100,000. Whether this has been done or not, the author does not know, but it is known as the 'New York Company' mine, and will probably pay 30 to \$50,000

a year or more to Tilden or to his order.

"Here is a specimen of some of the laudatory articles which appeared in the newspapers about the time the 'Ring' was selling out their stock. Correspondents from New York and Chicago were sent on for the express purpose of 'blowing the bubbles.'

"This item is taken from a New York paper as copied from a Western ditto — September, 1864.

"NEW COMPANIES IN THE MARQUETTE IRON ORE REGION.

"*Iron Cliffs Mining Company.* — We have recently visited several sections of the property of this company, and have been much interested in viewing the different deposits of iron ore. They far surpass our previous ideas of them. On the S. W. quarter of Section 13, T. 47, R. 27, is a cliff where the ore was discovered only ten days ago, which, from calculations made on it after sinking test pits in different parts, cannot contain, above the surface, less than *two and a quarter millions of tons of ore*, and pronounced by a gentleman present, for many years a practical miner, of the best quality. It could not be more favorably situated for mining, as at the foot of the cliff is a lake into which can be thrown all the waste of the mine. It has been determined to call this the Ogden Mine, and the lake, Ogden Lake — a deserved compliment to the Hon. Wm. B. Ogden, who has been so instrumental in securing for us the Peninsula Railroad, which will be of such immense service in developing the resources of our country. As he is one of the principal parties in the Iron Cliffs Company, he

may yet be designated as the *Iron King*, as well as the "Railroad King." Work will be commenced immediately on this mine, and there is no reason why, with proper effort, 100,000 tons of ore cannot be taken from it next year.

"Crossing to Section 26, we came to another immense bed of ore.

"We next visited the Tilden mine, on the S. E. quarter of Section 23. This is another large bed of ore, of excellent quality, and was the mine which, to a great extent, induced the purchase of the property. The more it has been developed the richer it has proved in extent and character of the ore. It has taken its name from Hon. Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, who was the original purchaser of the property and formerly of the company. *From such a fraternity nothing but success could be expected for the Iron Cliffs Company.* We rejoice in its flattering prospects, because the prosperity of the company will add so materially to that of the country."

Parton continues his remarks as follows: —

"Meantime the Peninsula Railroad Company was building ore docks, on the 'Ring's' location, at a cost of some \$250,000, to ship ore from Mr. Tilden's mine. The railway was built through, enabling it to run cars from Escanaba (the name of the lower terminus, the title to a third of which is in the name of Perry H. Smith) to the Tilden mine on the 'branch,' and to the mine leased by Tilden on the other fork, during the winter and spring of 1864-5. During that year business was done by the railway company between three termini, all of which the 'Ring' had a side interest in."

Ten years have elapsed since Parton wrote these quotations. The situation is still essentially the same.

Tilden is yet Trustee. *The Chicago and North-Western Railroad yet avoids Lake Superior by the distance of eight miles! The Peninsula division now terminates in three forks on Tilden's "Ring" lands.* (See map.)

The connection has been made between Green bay and Escanaba by rail, as shown on map.

If it be asked, Why the bend in the new link between Menominee and Escanoba? (see map) the answer is, "Thereby hangs a narrative" too long to relate here.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE "NORTH-WESTERN PIONEER."

The manuscript of the foregoing chapters has been submitted to the inspection of the "North-Western Pioneer" himself, and, in returning the same, he wrote a letter, extracts from which, by permission, are appended as follows:—

"I have looked over the notes made from the documents I lent you, and do not see much to alter in your editor's arrangement of the same.

"Of course, in referring to transactions extending over so long a space of time, many details must be left out. I will add, however, one or two incidents.

"While holding Mr. Tilden's 'sacred honor' document and the bond mentioned, I devoted one winter mainly in endeavoring to obtain a settlement.

"When I called at his office at first, he would tell me to call again the following week, when he 'would have time to see me.' After a while his clerk would inform me that he was 'not in' (when, in fact, I could hear his voice in the next room), or that he was 'engaged,' until I was too vexed and indignant to call any more. I then arranged with my friend, S. C., Esq., of Seventeenth street, N. Y., to interview him for me. By actual count, he called at Tilden's office over thirty times, with no better success than myself and gave up in disgust!

"Subsequently I employed the Chicago lawyer, with the result as you have stated.

"In the art of torturing any one unfortunately in his power, Samuel J. Tilden is without an equal! He adroitly led me into obligations to third parties on the assumption that he would fulfil his own or his associates' assurances, and then he would sneak off, apparently to enjoy my inability to fulfil my undertakings with others, which inability was *caused by his own delinquencies; but he always contrived to divest himself of legal liability!*

"After I had received the outrageous treatment at his office alluded to, I, of course, stayed away altogether. Judge of my surprise when, years after, he crossed Broadway, proffered me his hand, and greeted me as an old friend! I had, however, sufficient self-respect to decline the renewal of his acquaintance, but the incongruity of his acts struck me with amazement. He was and is an enigma to me."

Among those who perpetrate frauds from natural affinity (sometimes termed "kleptomania" when on a smaller scale) when and where honesty would serve a better purpose, Samuel J. Tilden's name should be enrolled as affording a fully developed or generic example!

CHAPTER VIII.

A DANGEROUS DEMAGOGUE!

SCRIPTURE asserts that a stream cannot be more pure than its fountain; nor good fruit be found on a bad tree.

Having demonstrated Tilden's private life and hidden sources of power to be corrupt to the last degree, it cannot be expected that he will be found otherwise in his political influence and associations. Not only does the rule hold good in his case, but his example and history lend it startling effect. The man who can plan robberies in corporations, placing men in the office of trustees simply to betray their trust, and who can himself prostitute the confidential position of attorney to compass the ruin of his client, might be expected to have no scruples as to the use of means to gratify his political ambition and personal ends.

Tilden, in pursuance of this, his settled rule of action, turns out to be a most dangerous enemy to popular liberty and rights, and will do more permanent injury in lowering the standard of action for public men in the "Empire State," than a hundred patriotic leaders could overcome with good examples.

The danger in all republics lies mainly in the acquisition of power by demagogues and "hypocritical reformers," and their concentration of the degrading and dangerous elements of society to accomplish their unscrupulous ends.

Tilden combines these qualities of dangerous leadership in an unusual degree, and his success thus far should make every patriot shudder, not so much with fear for the present as for the future.

Tilden's political career may be considered as commencing in 1855, when he came before the electors of the State as a candidate for its Attorneyship.

He was then affiliated with a faction of the Democratic party known as the Soft or Van Buren wing. The most prominent thing which he did was to publish a letter addressed to a firm of brewers in Albany, taking the most ultra ground against any "sumptuary laws," as he termed all legislation to restrict the sale of intoxicating liquors. A plank in the platform of his fragmentary party also affirmed this same doctrine. By this stroke of cunning policy, Tilden could ever after count on the political and pecu-

niary aid of the liquor-dealers; and when he came up for the governorship, he had this powerful interest fully organized and pledged to his support! He could afford at least one defeat to accomplish this object!

The bolt from the old Democratic party, of which he was one of the leaders, resulted in the defeat of both wings, as was doubtless expected by him; and the "Know-nothing," or "Native American," party won the victory as the consequence of the division engineered by him.

His next appearance in the political arena was as the Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions in the Chicago National Democratic Convention in 1864, when and where he drafted and secured the adoption of the following resolution:—

"*Resolved*, That this Convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that, after four years of failure to restore the Union by experiment of war, during which, under the pretence of a military necessity, or war power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material pros-

perity of the country essentially impaired, —justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that IMMEDIATE EFFORTS BE MADE FOR A CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES, with a view to an ultimate convention of the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that at the earliest practicable moment, peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal States."

Notably in this connection a very curious coincidence occurred. In March of that year the Confederate Government had voted a Secret Service Fund of \$3,000,000 *in gold*, to be used in creating a "peace sentiment" at the North. The money was placed at the disposal of "President" Davis, who sent agents *via* Nassau and Halifax to Canada, to disburse the money among politicians in the Northern States, "where it would do the most good," to use the expression of one of Tilden's clients.

Who received the money? Mr. Stewart, of Virginia, who relates the circumstances to the extent quoted, does not say.* One thing is certain,

* "*From the Baltimore 'Sun.'*"

"SOUTHERN WAR SECRETS REVEALED. H. H. Stuart and J. N. Opie, of Augusta County, Virginia, are rival candidates for the Legislature of that State, and made speeches at a political meeting held in Staunton. Among some personal reminiscences related by Mr. Stuart in his speech was one connected with the peace negotiations of the late Confederacy. He read a note from the Hon. Judah P. Benjamin, dated March 25, 1864, asking him to come to Richmond for an interview with President Davis. He went, and was

informed by President Davis that the Confederate Congress had voted a secret service fund of \$3,000,000 in gold, to be used in creating a peace sentiment at the North. After looking over the whole country, the President had selected Mr. Stuart as the man for the mission. He was to sail for Nassau, and thence for Halifax, and there, from the border of Canada, operate on prominent men. The fund of \$3,000,000 was to be at his absolute disposal, and he was not to be required to furnish vouchers for its disbursement."

Tilden, with his known hostility to loyal demonstrations at the North,* and with his loose personal integrity, would be one of the first men to be approached by the emissaries of Davis. Just when, and where, and how, they did so, may never be known, nor the sum paid, if any. But at any rate, Tilden was active and effective enough to have earned a large fee.

Could any of the paid emissaries of Jeff. Davis have been more faithful to their master?

Certain circumstances indicate that this resolution was, in substance at least, "approved by Davis before it was introduced by Tilden."

Parton, in his "Manual," takes the ground that the introduction of this resolution was a master stroke of policy on Tilden's part to obtain further influence for the future. He says, page 11:—

"The name of Tilden will ever live as the author of this and kindred yearnings for peace. Whenever the Southern States are restored into full political power, this resolution will alone be a sufficient passport to their affections, and we predict that the

chairman of that committee will live to see the day when his leadership will be acknowledged from Richmond to New Orleans as it is now supreme upon Manhattan Island."

If Tilden was as astute as Parton represented him to be ten years ago, we can readily see peculiar grounds for his hopes for a nomination and election to the Presidency in 1876, from the alliance then made with the Southern secession leaders.

It is a well-known fact that the person who was at that time private secretary of Jefferson Davis, at Richmond, is now the private secretary of Tilden's Mayor of New York. This subordinate's functions are practically to carry out Tilden's plans in that city, and to canvass the South in Tilden's presidential interests. The following is interesting in this connection:—

"A debate in Congress on January 14, 1876, developed the fact that all the inhuman orders respecting Union prisoners in Southern prisons originated with or passed through the hands of Colonel Harrison, formerly Jefferson Davis's private secretary, but now in the same position for Mayor Wickham of New York!

"EXTRACTS FROM SPEECH OF MR. GARFIELD.

"Mr. Garfield then quoted some of the testimony given on the Wirz trial, as to

the condition of this Andersonville stockade, the dead line, etc. He then referred to the report made by Colonel Chandler, who had been detailed to inspect the Andersonville prison, and which was by Adjutant-General Cooper submitted to the Secretary of War, with the remark that the condition of that prison was a reproach to the Confederacy, *so that the knowledge of its horrors had thus been brought home to the political family of Jefferson Davis.* When the Commanding General of the

* He refused in 1861 to join in the call for the famous "Union Square meeting," called to express the sentiments of his city in favor of sustaining the Federal Govern-

ment. To his friend, Mr. Sloan, who called to urge him, he stated that he felt no sympathy with its object. (See Campaign Document of 1874.)

army subsequently removed Winder, Davis revoked the order of removal. The British army had lost in ten of the great battles of the Napoleonic war, including Waterloo, not quite 13,000 men; but this

Major-General Winder, within his awful pit of death, from April, 1864, to April, 1865, pitched into the awful trench the dead bodies of his prisoners to the number of 12,644 ! ”

The following additional light on the subject is found in extracts from a speech of ex-speaker Blaine, in the same Congressional debate.

“ Mr. Blaine said : If Jefferson Davis, the moment that the crimes of Andersonville were brought to his attention, had arraigned the perpetrators of them at once and issued an order that no guilty man should escape, then there would be some little consistency in the gentleman’s position. I may mention, on the authority of General Grant, in connection with the exchange of prisoners, that one trouble in relation to the exchange of prisoners was that the Davis Government observed no honor in the matter. General Grant was careful to say that, for Lee and the two Johnstons and Pemberton and the great Confederate Generals, they had been honor itself, but

that with the Davis Executive Government *there was no honor whatever*. Our men were taken in full health and strength. They came back wasted and worn skeletons.

“ Mr. Blaine then referred to the military order issued by General Winder, to open a fire of grape upon the prisoners at Andersonville if the Union troops came within seven miles. Mr. Blaine then read *a letter to Colonel Myers, directing him, if the exigencies required the use of trains for the transportation of corn, to pay no attention to the Yankee prisoners, as it was better to let them starve than for their soldiers to suffer.*”

The writer of that letter, either as original or under dictation, was undoubtedly Colonel Burton N. Harrison, then of Richmond, but now of New York ! He is said to have influence and power in the direction of this Metropolitan Government second only to Tilden himself ! — “ *Birds of a feather flock together !* ”

The sum of Tilden’s political labors from 1855 to, and including, 1864, was, therefore, to secure the *liquor* and *secession* elements of political power. That the first involved the defeat of the Democratic party in his State, and the latter the possible disruption of this Nation were secondary considerations in the mind of this shipper of political dynamite explosives !

(The title to this engraving as published by an un-Tildenized "pictorial" in 1875, should be "*Birds of a feather flock together!*" — ED.)



THE LOST CAUSE RESTORED or Crumbs of Comfort for the Confederates.

MAYOR WICKHAM (to Jefferson Davis)—I am delighted to see you in New York, Mr. Davis. You see I have taken care of your friends. Here is Mr. Burton N. Harrison, who was your Private Secretary—I have appointed him as my Private Secretary. Several others who handled some of your \$3,000,000 of Peace Bonds are in office here. — And now, Mr. Davis, can't you possibly induce Sumner, General Forrest, the Hero of Fort Pillow, Mr. Robert Toombs, or any other of your distinguished supporters, to come to New York and accept office. I am in favor of Home Rule, of course, but—confidentially, Mr. Davis between you and I—we have no gentlemen in Tammany Hall capable of filling these positions to the approval of Governor Tilden.

MR. JEFFERSON DAVIS—Mr. Wickham, you overpower me. You are very kind to me and my people. I shall communicate with Sumner, Toombs, Forrest and the rest and let you know the result.

CHAPTER IX.

TILDEN'S RAILROAD COMBINATIONS.

TILDEN'S "toadyism" to persons in power is one of his well-known characteristics.* He employed this faculty on Dean Richmond, President of the New York Central Railroad, and Chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee, as a prelude to obtaining for himself Dean's place in that important organization. Richmond finally ended his days at Tilden's house, and the latter, without delay, secured his political shoes, while furnishing the plumes to wave over the hearse, by securing the adoption of the following resolutions at the next meeting of the State Convention:—

"Whereas, Dean Richmond, an acknowledged leader of his party, and an eminent and patriotic citizen, has, by the mysterious providence of God, been suddenly removed from among us, and it is fit that suitable expression be made of our grief for his loss and respect for his character; therefore,

Resolved, That the members of this Convention, and the great party which it represents, deeply and sincerely mourn the death of Dean Richmond, who seemed the personal friend of each of them, and that they will cherish a grateful remembrance of his life, character and services."

Parton gives extracts of Tilden's speech on that occasion, and with quiet irony appends some anecdotes of the man whom Tilden would have supported for President in preference to Lincoln, as follows:—

"ADDRESS OF SAMUEL J. TILDEN.

"Mr. Samuel J. Tilden, having been requested to address the convention, said:—Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention,—I am entirely taken by surprise at the invitation you have just given me, but it is to speak on a topic that is so near to your hearts, and to my heart, I know that when I speak to you every word that I utter will be responded to by an answering emotion in your bosoms. *Connected*

more than any other individual in the organization and administration of a great party, composed of near 4,000,000 American citizens—it is rare, I say, that the death of an individual so unobtrusive in his life, so quiet in his demeanor, could have sunk the people of an entire State under a sense of grief and calamity almost as great as if the first magistrate of the nation had died. I remember very well

* A writer in the "New York Herald," in 1874, says, of Tilden: "He is vain and ambitious. He hated Tammany because it ignored his claims to political promotion, but he courted and flattered its chiefs. In the winter before the Tammany explo-

sion Mr. Tilden used to call on Governor Hoffman at Albany and after deferring to the Tammany Governor in the most snavy manner, he would linger and shake hands with him three or four times before leaving."

in 1864, when the nation was looking for a candidate for the highest office in its gift, public opinion tended very generally to this gentleman, with the concurrence of a large fragment of the Republican

party. It is my firm conviction, except for that refusal, his nomination was entirely possible and his election extremely probable."

Tilden, in intimating that the death of Richmond caused as deep and general grief as would the death of President Grant, may have expressed his private sentiments, but what says the reader as to the general application? *

Parton also quotes from an editorial of J. Gordon Bennett, in the "New York Herald," published at that time, thus:—

. . . . "The successors of Dean Richmond must have an equal talent for railroads and for politics, and equal skill in engineering locofocos and locomotives."

. . . . "With three times as many great lines as Dean Richmond possessed the Commodore could be three times as great a man in politics."

On this Parton remarks:—

"Here we have the testimony of the Veteran Editor of the United States, that the postulate sought to be elucidated in this Manual must be adopted as an axiom in American politics thus: HE WHO WOULD PRE-EMINENTLY POSSESS POLITICAL POWER MUST PROPORTIONABLY CONTROL RAILWAYS."

"The 'Herald,' reasoning on this rule, names Vanderbilt; but although undoubted-

ly rich he only positively controls the Hudson and Harlem Railroad lines at the present time, which are but little over 300 miles in aggregate length. Even should the New York Central be added, which is less than 400 miles (parallel branches not being counted), in which it is claimed he has a strong influence, it altogether would make only about 700 miles. S. J. Tilden, as will be herein-

*The following anecdotes are taken from the "New York Herald's" obituary notice of Dean Richmond:—

"His (Dean Richmond's) bad habit of swearing to excess was one of the most notable of his characteristics, and much of his offensiveness to others resulted from it. A gentleman had expressed his surprise that a railroad manager who travelled so much by railroad had never been present at any great railroad accident.

"'Never have,' said Richmond, 'but expect to be some time. My wife, Mrs. Richmond, said to me only the other day, says she, 'Mr. Richmond, I expect some time or another in your d——d long trips you'll get your G——d brains knocked out by one of these infernal locomotives.'"

"The gentleman's astonishment was only dispelled by further experiences in hearing Mr. Richmond swear.

"A Rev. Mr. Benedict had been arrested by Mr. Stanton and kept some months in confinement for preaching a sermon on the text, 'Blessed are the peacemakers;' a committee conferring with Mr. Richmond alluded to this affair, and asked what effect it would have in Benedict's part of the State.

"'That will help, that will help,' he answered. 'I met Mr. Benedict just after his release, and he told me, said he, 'Mr. Richmond, I'm going back to Erie, by G——d, sir, and I intend to hire a horse and wagon and go over every d——d inch of the soil till I rouse every G——d d——d scoundrel in the county to vote.'"

"'You don't mean to say, Mr. Richmond,' said a committee-man, 'that the Rev. Mr. Benedict swore in that manner?'

"'No, no,' said Richmond, apologetically; 'but by G——d, he meant it.'"

after shown, controls, through one 'Ring' of which he is the 'Grand Legalizer,' over 1,100 miles of railway from Chicago branching in all directions West, while he has a great influence in the line to Pittsburg of 500 miles, of which he is a trustee, and also of the line to St. Louis,

some 300 miles, in same way. By means of these avenues of income and the perfection of his ring organization, he could command a million where the lamented Richmond could not divert one hundred thousand for 'contingent expenses.'"

Since that was written, ten years ago, Vanderbilt has expanded his railroad connections most notably, but Tilden has outrun him in this line *ten to one*. Vanderbilt may now possibly control 2,500 miles of railroad. Tilden has working affiliations with the owners or managers of over 25,000 miles of railroads in the United States, and representing over \$400,000,000 of capital. This startling assertion was recently made by a member of Tilden's State Government as the basis of predicting his nomination for the Presidency of 1876.

The railroad agency was, next to the Tammany organization, the most prominent at the convention which nominated Tilden for Governor in 1874.

The most active man therein was D. C. Littlejohn, first President of the New York & Oswego Midland Railroad Company.

This concern managed to expend about \$28,000,000 of money to build a line that would not sell for \$2,000,000, if the purchasers had to operate it, and could not sell its iron and equipment. The saddest thing in the whole affair was, that much of the funds thus sunk, was wrung from the taxpayers in the interior of the State, by special laws, engineered by Littlejohn, as a member of the Legislature, and by the chicanery of the "town-bonding" system, now forbidden by an amendment to the Constitution; not, however, until Littlejohn and others of his kind had plunged various counties and towns along the line of the "Midland Railroad" into permanent debts, as follows:—

Oswego County, 16 per cent. of total valuation.					
Chenango	"	20 $\frac{1}{2}$	"	"	"
Sullivan	"	22 $\frac{3}{8}$	"	"	"
Ulster	"	24 $\frac{9}{16}$	"	"	"

Some towns were bonded to about fifty per cent. of valuation, and in a few cases were bonded before any track was graded within their limits, and have never had even that questionable equivalent since.

When the predestined collapse in "Midland" took place, Littlejohn hastened to Tilden for counsel. The latter drafted laws, which were enacted, to cover up confiscation of the local interests. Especially did Tilden aid him by causing a pliant "Tammany Sachem" to be made the assignee

in bankruptcy of the Company, *to let Littlejohn alone!* No exposures were made, and the railroad ex-President was bound to Tilden by secret ties of the most effectual kind. Littlejohn manœuvred the Liberal Republicans into line for Tilden; made the formal withdrawal of the latter's most formidable rival, and then "went in" on the "eloquent" department of speech-making in the Democratic Convention, thus:—

"I have known Samuel J. Tilden from my youth up, and am prepared to say that his character has always been without fear and without reproach. His name comes to us like an oasis in the desert!"

Tilden could not expect his special "organ" to grind out sweeter music than that! Littlejohn also ran the "Tilden machine" in the State Convention of 1875 in securing the nomination of the names on the "*Governor's slate.*"

The assertion was made, in speeches, during the canvass, that Commodore Vanderbilt had enjoined all his employés to vote for the railroad lawyer. President Jewett, of the Erie Railway, was known to be in close business relations with him in Western concerns, as noted elsewhere. In fact, these influences could be said to exist in every other important railroad line in the State.

The result was a political success! And so the greatest and meanest railroad "grabber" in America was largely, by the influence of railroad corporations, made Governor of the State of New York! Whether the same kind of combination will work as well in a National canvass remains to be seen. *Why should it not?*

CHAPTER X.

INVEIGLING A PRESIDENT.

To resume the historical narrative at the point of Tilden's taking Dean Richmond's place as the permanent leader of the Democratic State organization in 1866: we note that his next exploit was the attempt to seduce Acting-President Andrew Johnson into a traitorous abandonment of the Party which entrusted him with office. President Johnson was too honest, personally, to fall fully into the trap; but the suspicion of his possible intention nearly cost him his high office.

Parton says:—

"Soon his practised eye discerned the possibility of detaching Andrew Johnson from the party which elected him. This delicate task was promoted through one of the 'Ring' at the West, and a Western politician who was 'backed' by it.

"*'SWINGING ROUND THE CIRCLE.'*

"The Philadelphia Convention and the Presidential trip to Chicago owe their origin to much the same source.

"Mr. Tilden played his part with admirable tact, and when the opportunity occurred at the meeting of the State Convention said:—

"'And if Andrew Johnson, who is to-day, in my judgment, the best depository of democratic ideas in the country—I use the term in the largest meaning—the ideas that were entertained by Jefferson, Madison and Jackson, of whom he is now the best representative in common life,—if he should succeed in the contest on which he has so boldly embarked, great as are the honors due to Grant and Sherman, and all other gallant heroes, their glory would, before civilization and posterity, pale in the light of him who would restore the great and glorious system founded by our fathers.' (Cheers.)"

To show how Tilden expected to get his pay, Parton simply copies the following suggestive telegram:—

"[*Special Despatch to the Evening Post.*]

"WASHINGTON, September 26, 1867.

"Samuel J. Tilden and other New York

politicians are still here looking after the Naval Office."

"Andy Johnson" had a rugged honesty which saved him from the full effect of Tilden's snares. The tempter finally withdrew, and such men as Senators Fessenden of Maine, Trumbull of Illinois, and others, protected the Tennessean in his "trying hour," because convinced—of his since acknowledged—ingenuous motives.

CHAPTER XI.

TILDEN IN PARTNERSHIP WITH TWEED.

THIS political copartnership was formed in 1867, and not dissolved until 1871, when the "Boss," from "unavoidable circumstances," retired from the firm of Tilden & Tweed, the former continuing the business on his individual account.

Of the two, Tilden was by far the most unscrupulous, hypocritical and dangerous conspirator. Tweed had a bluff way of showing that he had humane, generous impulses. *Tilden has none!* Tweed divided his plunder. *Tilden hoards his!* Tilden's advantage lay in his more acute mind, his legal training, financial ability, social polish, and arts of dissimulation, but which rendered him only the more mean and dangerous!

Tilden kept up the connection until he could gain by a dissolution, and then turned out his partner as the scapegoat for mutual sins!

Those, well posted, predicted that Tilden would never see Tweed pushed into such a corner as to make him desperate enough to divulge sundry partnership transactions. Tweed's recent pretended "escape," without even a reprimand from the Governor (who is vested with power of removal in such cases), to the Sheriff who let him go, is a significant confirmation of these predictions. David Dudley Field (Tweed's counsel) stated openly, that the much-vaunted prosecution of the "City Ring Thieves," for which Tilden claims special credit, is in the main a "studied farce."

Ingersoll, the only one convicted and sent to State's Prison, was pardoned by Tilden on pretence of giving "State's evidence;" but Mr. Field said, as reported in the "New York Tribune" of Dec. 6, 1874:—

"The question, '*What do you think about Mr. Tweed's escape?*' was agreed upon, and Mr. Field replied: 'I think his escape a great mistake. He had good defences to the suits in which he was held to bail, and would, I believe, have succeeded in defeating them if he had stood his ground. The prosecution seem to have gone upon the theory to let *all these*, except Tweed, *go with all their property*,

not including a small portion of Watson's property.

" 'I have said that the two suits in which he was held to bail would have been defeated if they had been resolutely defended. Why they were ever brought I do not well understand. The members of the Ring, as it was called, are said to have robbed the county of millions of dollars. If so, the remedy was easy, in suits brought

by the county. Such suits were brought. Their sufficiency was sanctioned by the decisions of the General and Special Terms of our Supreme Court, and by the opinions of George Ticknor Curtis and ex-Judge John Porter. If they had been prosecuted there could have been no question in the case except one, — Whether the money had been taken? As it was, by doggedly persisting in suits in the name of the State, various other questions have been introduced, which entangled and bid fair to *defeat the prosecution*. Indeed, I think the whole prosecution has been a series of great mistakes. Of the civil suits, they have let sleep the one in favor of the county, which was the only one which promised success, and it could have been tried at any time within the last three years. So you perceive that if the county

has lost several millions by the misconduct of these wrong-doers, it has to thank those who have charge of the prosecution for the failure to recover a great part of it, inasmuch as they seem to have *voluntarily let all but Tweed escape*, and mistook their remedy against him until there appears small chance of recovering in that quarter. Tweed's counsel, of whom there have been ten or twelve, have done their duty in the defence of his legal rights. They have insisted that he shall be tried and judged according to the law of the land and no other law. They have not, as has been untrue stated, sought to interpose unnecessary delays. If a computation was made, I believe that *nine-tenths of all the delay* in the cases would be found to *have been caused by the prosecution*."

These utterances from the mouth of one of the ablest lawyers in the litigation are most suggestive. It will be found in another place that Tilden admits having made a tacit bargain to let Connolly go easy, in exchange for the immediate possession of his all-important office of Comptroller of the City. On the same principle, would not Tilden be ready to connive at Tweed's escape, with a large share of his booty, *in exchange for the suppression of damaging facts*? It must be remembered that Tweed was imprisoned under the administration of General Dix, and was released on bail and "escaped" without difficulty, when Tilden, his former partner, the great "Ring breaker," was Governor!

These suggestions are made in advance, to call the reader's attention to the partnership business of this famous firm, that the connection of the past with the present may appear more clearly, *as it does to an ex-Sergeant of the Police!*

One of the first operations of Tilden, Tweed & Co. was to carry the elections in the State in 1868. The following was their official circular sent out on the eve of the election: —

"ROOMS OF THE DEMOCRATIC
STATE COMMITTEE,
Oct. 27, 1868.

"MY DEAR SIR: Please at once to communicate with some reliable person in three or four principal towns and in each city of your county; and request him (expenses duly arranged for at this end) to *telegraph* to WILLIAM M. TWEED, Tam-

many Hall, at the minute of closing the polls, not waiting for the count, such person's estimate of the vote. Let the telegraph be as follows: 'This town will show a Democratic gain (or loss) over last year of — (number).' Or this one, if sufficiently certain; 'This town will give a Republican (or Democratic) majority of —.' There is, of course, an important

object to be attained by a simultaneous transmission at the hour of closing the polls, but not longer waiting. Opportunity can be taken of the usual half-hour lull in telegraphic communication over lines before actual results begin to be declared, and before the Associated Press

absorb the telegraph with returns and interfere with individual messages, and give orders to watch carefully the count.

"Very truly yours,


"SAMUEL J. TILDEN,


"*Chairman.*"

The only "important object to be attained," the reader will perceive, was to add enough votes in the city ballot boxes to counteract adverse majorities in the country. That this was done, United States Senator Conkling said was an "open secret." In a public speech the Senator alleged that "thirty thousand fraudulent votes were falsely added to the count in New York and Brooklyn alone," and that the Tilden and Tweed candidate for Governor held that office by being "counted in"!

As similar frauds might carry the vote of the State for their candidate for the Presidency, Congress provided for a system of national inspection at the polls, to prevent any further occurrences of the kind.

Tilden was examined by an Investigating Committee of the Assembly in 1873 (Ass. Doc. 98, pp. 690), on the question of Tweed's PAYING HIM money for election expenses. His memory was "painfully mixed" for a man born as late as 1814! In answer to not very searching questions, he gave answers (under oath) thus:—

 A . . . "*He (Tweed) made some contributions in 1868!*"

 A . . . "HE (TWEED) MADE A CONTRIBUTION OF \$5,000, IN AID OF HOFFMANN'S CANDIDACY AS GOVERNOR!!"

Tilden could "*not recollect*" how much Tweed paid over to him either in 1868 or in any other year! ! ! Tilden did not want to have the figures known, and they probably never will be divulged! Tweed "escapes" before that happens!

The following year Horace Greeley accepted a nomination for a State office in opposition to Tilden, Tweed & Co., election brokers, etc. He took the precaution to publish a letter addressed to the senior member of the firm, in which are the following sentences:—

LETTER TO A POLITICIAN.

"To Samuel J. Tilden, Chairman Democratic State Committee:—

"SIR,—You held a most responsible and influential position in the councils of a great party. You could make that party

content itself with the polling of legal votes if you only would. In our late Constitutional Convention I tried to erect some fresh barriers against election frauds; did you? The very little that I was enabled to effect in this direction I shall try to

have ratified by the people at our ensuing election. Will you?

"Mr. Tilden, you cannot escape responsibility by saying, with the guilty Macbeth,

"Thou canst not say I did it; never shake
Those gory locks at me!"

for you were, at least, a passive accomplice in the giant frauds of last November. Your name was used, without public protest on your part, in circulars sowed broadcast over the State, whereof the manifest intent was to 'make assurance doubly sure' that the frauds here perpetrated should not be overborne by the honest vote of the rural districts. And you, not merely by silence, but by positive assumption, have covered those frauds with the mantle of your respectability. On the principle that 'the receiver is as bad as the thief,' you are as deeply implicated in them to-day as though your name were Tweed, O'Brien, or Oakley Hall.

And though our city has since largely increased its population, the lower wards were quite as populous then (1840) as they are to-day, several of them more so.

.

"Now, look at the vote of four of these wards in 1840 and 1868 respectively:—

	President, 1840.		Governor, 1868.	
Four Wards	4,793	5,521	2,840	20,283

Van Buren's majority, 726; Hoffman's majority, 17,443.

"Mr. Tilden, you know what this contrast attests. Right well do you comprehend the means whereby the vote of 1868 was thus swelled out of all proportions. There are not 12,000 legal voters living in those wards to-day, though they gave Hoffman 17,443 majority. Had the day been of average length, it would doubtless have been swelled to at least 20,000. There was nothing but time needed to make it 100,000, if so many had been wanted and paid for. Now, Mr. Tilden, I call on you to put a stop to this business. You have but to walk into the Sheriff's, the Mayor's and the Supervisor's offices in the City Hall Park, and say that there must be no more of it; SAY IT SO THAT THERE SHALL BE NO DOUBT THAT YOU MEAN IT, and we shall have a tolerably fair election once more.

"Will you do it? If we Republicans are swindled again as we were swindled last Fall, you and such as you will be responsible to God and man for the outrage.

"Yours, HORACE GREELEY.

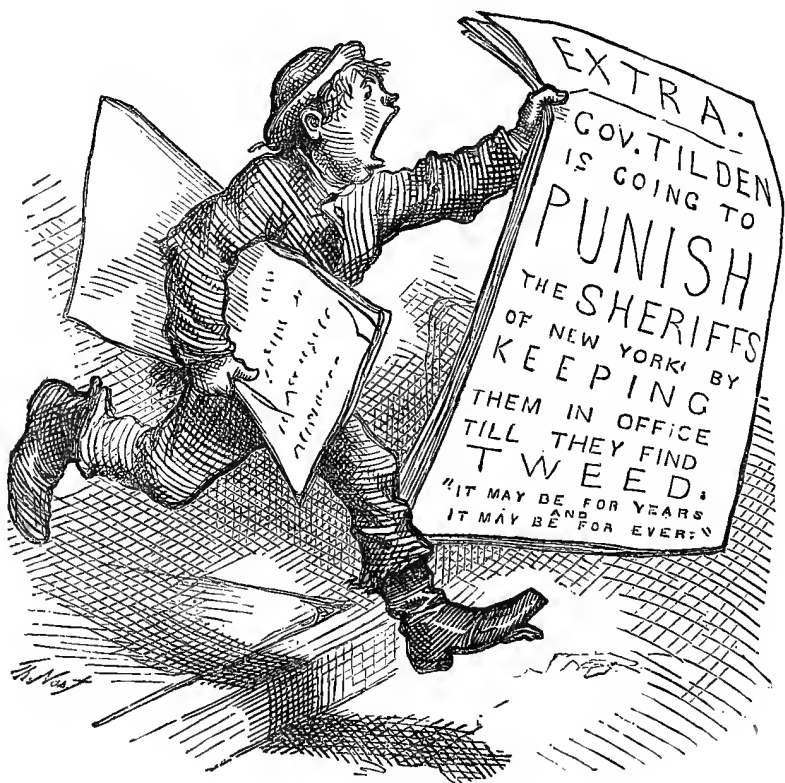
"NEW YORK, Oct. 20, 1869."

The reader would naturally suppose that Tilden would take notice in public of such a letter as that. Any high-toned, honest man would have done so. But, while Tilden gave no sign at the time, his crafty, subtle mode of revenge upon its author is an illustrative example of his astute management.

He contrived to have the writer of the above letter nominated for the Presidency in 1872, and fearfully beaten, to a degree, that, without doubt, hastened his death. This left the way open for Tilden to be nominated in 1876 by his dispirited party, who would, more than ever, need a candidate commanding money, in which respect Tilden would be without a rival. He took the first opportunity to seduce Greeley's successor, to transform the "Tribune" into a Tilden "organ" for a pecuniary consideration, as elsewhere mentioned. Thus his revenge and his victory have been completed in a manner never dreamed of in Horace Greeley's philosophy! To enumerate the frauds and rascalities perpetrated during the Tilden and

Tweed dynasty would far exceed the limits of this review. That Tilden consented to, if not counselled, most of them there is no doubt. On the acknowledged principle that "silence gives consent," he ought to be held accountable for all of them. Take, for instance, the wholesale bribery of the metropolitan press, under the thin guise of "municipal advertising." For this item alone the enormous sum of \$2,205,151 $\frac{63}{100}$ was paid out between Jan. 1st, 1869, and Sept. 15th, 1871.

Brick Pomeroy's vile, communistic sheet, the "Democrat," filled with the most scurrilous attacks on the Federal Government, on religion, and the better classes of society generally, during that period received the incredible sum of \$198,000 in cash. To say that Tilden did not know of, and consent to, this infamous system of public corruption is simply absurd.



NEWS!

CHAPTER XII.

THE PRINCE OF DISSEMBLERS.

As the most enterprising possessor of what is known in slang phrase as "cheek," Tilden stands without a rival. In his speeches and letters, and in all his subsidized press articles for the last four years, the one great theme on which all the changes have been rung, is that *he* was the destroyer of the "Tweed" or "Tammany" ring, which but for *him* might even yet hold undisputed sway! No one knows so well as himself and Tweed, what a shameless fraud such a claim covers!

As the space which we *can* spare for illustrations of *this* subject is short, we will mention only the following occurrence:—

In 1870 Tweed had concocted a new charter for the City of New York, to facilitate by legal process the wholesale plundering then rampant.

Tilden, from his political affiliations, must necessarily have been aware of the plot, and he was shrewd enough to forecast the dangers of the game, coupled with such recklessness in the players; but *entirely wanting in honest principles*, he did not have moral courage to denounce the scheme before its exposure by others, or when protest might have availed to prevent it.

So familiar was he with bribery, and corruption, that he even adopted the slang phrases current with Tweed and Barber at that time; for instance, the word "stuff" as the "short" for bribe money!

The reader will perceive that, by his own confession, in his letter to the "New York Times," he knew of "Tweed's" method of passing the charter, and that the "stuff" had already "been sent up" from New York to Albany, and who sent it, and what for, when he made that honeyed speech to "Tweed," assuring him of "no unkind feelings," etc.!

But in his speech at "Cooper Institute" to the "*excited citizens of the metropolis*," he represented himself as "*protesting against the outrage*," as though his own life had been *endangered*!

After the fraud had been, by others, publicly denounced, Tilden claimed:—

- 1st. To have *first* known its character and denounced it.
- 2d. To have *first* tried to prevent it.
- 3d. To have *first* exposed and overthrown its authors.

This three-faced dissembling will plainest appear in juxtaposition, thus: —

EXTRACTS from verbatim reports of S. J. Tilden's remarks, before Tweed's Committee on Cities in Albany, April 4th, 1870, as published in newspapers of next day.

"I come here, Sir (to Tweed), to aid no party of men nor to injure any party of men; I come here simply, to contribute what I may, however little, to a result in which you, I, and all of us, have a great interest and you a great duty. And let me say here, that, if I know my own heart, I have no feelings of unkindness to any human being. TO YOURSELF, MR. CHAIRMAN (Tweed), OR TO ANYBODY ELSE, I AM UNCONSCIOUS OF EVER HAVING DONE AN UNKIND ACT OR ENTERTAINED AN UNKIND FEELING."

The speech closed as follows: —

"Mr. Chairman (Tweed), this Committee and this Legislative body may render a service to the people, such as falls to the lot of few; such as will be a service to them and an honor to you.

"I TRUST, SIR, THAT WITH YOUR BEST FACILITIES APPLIED TO THE SUBJECT, YOU MAY ACHIEVE RESULTS THAT WILL BE SATISFACTORY TO ALL."

EXTRACT from Sam. J. Tilden's Speech at Cooper Institute, Oct., 1871, after securing the Comptroller office (as written out and quoted by himself).

"Alone I went to the city of Albany and recorded my protest against the Outrage" (passage of *Tweed's Charter*). "How was it accomplished? BY TAKING \$1,000,000, STOLEN FROM THE TAXPAYERS, AND BUYING IN THE SHAMBLES A MAJORITY OF BOTH HOUSES"!

The following are extracts from the circulars sent out by S. J. T. (with his likeness attached), in his campaign for the Governorship in 1875:—

"Early in 1870 began the celebrated contest concerning the charter of New York city. Mr. Tilden went to Albany, and, April 5th, made a speech in the presence of Tweed and his legislative committee, DENOUNCING THE CHARTER WHICH RESTORED THE 'TWEED DYNASTY' TO POWER, making over to them all the offices and official influence of the city government; not by the voice of the people, but by the vote of a corrupt legislature—strongly Republican. Under it occurred the notorious 'six-million robbery.'

"On the 15th of September Mr. Tilden dislodged the 'Tweed Ring' from the possession of the Comptroller's office. That fall he led the revolt of 40,000 Democrats against the 'Ring' in the city of New York."

EXTRACT from a letter of Sam. J. Tilden to "N. Y. Times," dated Jan. 27, 1873.

"Suddenly, a charter was sprung by Mr. Tweed.

"I was convinced that it would pass. A clerk in one of the public offices came privately to me to tell me that 'THE STUFF HAD BEEN SENT UP' . . . Garvey advanced, March 30, \$10,000 to go to Albany, and again April 17th, \$40,000; making \$50,000. *Ingersoll* (lately pardoned by Governor Tilden), \$50,000; *Keyser*, \$25,000; *Miller*, \$25,000; *Hall*, \$25,000; and others their quotas; offices were given for five years to Sweeney, Fields and Hilton. These GREAT TRUSTS, INVOLVING THE INTERESTS, SAFETY AND HONOR OF A MILLION OF PEOPLE, HAD BEEN DIVIDED UP AS BRIBES."

Thus out of his own mouth is this "hypocrite" convicted, as dissemblers usually are!

The annals of American politics will be searched in vain for another spectacle so debasing and contemptible!

CHAPTER XIII.

DISSOLUTION OF THE FIRM OF TILDEN, TWEED AND CO.

EIGHTEEN months had nearly elapsed since the occurrence at Albany alluded to in the last chapter, and during which time Tilden "kept still as a mouse" about municipal affairs, though all the while busy as attorney or counsel for Oakes Ames, Jay Gould and others, *who could pay heavy fees*. But public attention was being directed towards Tweed. An accountant in the Comptroller's office divulged damaging facts, which, although suppressed by some of the leading papers, were finally published by the "New York Times." As late as September 5, 1871, Tilden did not commit himself.*

*The "New York Times," of Dec. 6, 1875, referring to this, says:—

"On the night of the 4th September, 1871, a meeting was held at Cooper Institute to protest against the city robberies, and TILDEN declined even to go to it.

"No one need take our word on the subject; let them read an article published in the 'World' on that meeting."

(From the "World," 5th September, 1871.)

"The long-heralded meeting at the Cooper Institute, which took place last evening, was certainly respectable in point of numbers. It filled the large hall in the basement to its utmost capacity, but that hall can hold but an insignificant fraction of the citizens of New York. Numbers

prove nothing, and if they did the argument could be easily refuted.

"If the questions of guilt or innocence were to be decided by a popular vote, taken to-day or to-morrow, the majority on the side of the city officers would be overwhelming. *If the list of speakers had comprised such names as . . . Mr. TILDEN, . . . or representative citizens like them, of the highest standing and integrity, the meeting might have been deemed to be an expression of the best public opinion of the city.* BUT THE FACT THAT THESE EMINENT CITIZENS STOOD ALOOF shows that the excitement is factitious, and that the meeting was a partisan affair, masquerading under false pretences."

Then a Citizens' Investigating Committee was formed, and Tweed, Connolly and others were closely crowded. Then took place the burning of the vouchers for the fraudulent payments.

Connolly, in this extremity, flew to Tilden for advice, as one thief flies to another known to himself to be in the same category! What Tilden advised Connolly to do he has stated in his letter to the "New York Times," over his own signature, as follows:—

"I pressed Mr. Connolly (Sept. 15th, 1871) to surrender the office" (of Comptroller of the city) "by deputizing Mr. Green." . . . "That he had less to fear from the public than from his confederates." . . . "THE STORM WOULD PASS OVER HIM, AND BEAT UPON THE OTHERS."

This offer of immunity by Tilden had the desired effect, as he says in the same letter:—

"Mr. Connolly consented, the papers of the Comptroller and put Mr. Green in were executed, 'Mr. Green' sworn in, and possession."* they left my house only to go to the office

Soon after this, Connolly fled to Europe, taking, as is estimated, three and a half millions of dollars with him, and is now living in Paris like a prince. Tilden, as noted by D. D. Field, evidently connived at his escape with his booty, chuckling no doubt at having thenceforward complete control of the finances of the city, and of the thirty-five millions of dollars annually passing through that office, into which his protégé, Green, was thus placed in possession. Some parties called Green in question in 1875.*

Tilden could now read his own title clear to the Governorship in due time. He no longer needed Tweed; he could do better to set up as a "reformer," and take all the credit and profits to himself!

Then "he led 40,000 Democrats to open revolt."

Then he could "eloquently proclaim" his "protest against the outrage" (in his speech at *Cooper Hall*), and he no longer publicly assured "Tweed" of finding "no unkind feelings," after a survey "of his heart!"

Referring to this master-stroke of political tactics, the "New York World" recently said:—

"When Samuel J. Tilden got possession of the City Comptroller's office, turning Connolly out and putting Green in, the Tweed ring was destroyed. All that followed was the process of its dying. . . . The Comptroller's office held the keys of the people's money-chest, and those keys are also the key to the position. . . .

"Comptroller Green has issued his annual report for the past year. It is not by any means a very encouraging document. The debt of the city continues to increase. On the 31st of December, the total bonded debt was \$144,522,029.39, including the sinking fund account of \$27,748,307.30, against \$141,803,758 on December, 1874."

* HON. DANIEL PRATT, *Attorney-General Albany, New York*:—

SIR,— . . . The report shows that Mr. Andrew H. Green, and with the connivance of the notorious Thomas C. Fields, paid to himself on June 19, 1869, out of the Park funds, and has since retained the sum of \$1,600, stated to be his expenses to Europe, . . . a gratuity of \$5,000, under the pretext of additional salary; and on June 11, 1868, the further sum of \$7,500 (having already drawn the

full salary allowed him by law); . . . paid to himself the sum of \$3,902, on the false pretext of expenses incurred in visiting the Park. . . . We request that you will compel Mr. Green to restore to our almost bankrupt City Treasury the funds which he has fraudulently taken therefrom.

Signed—George Hoffman, and others,
Committee of Citizens and Taxpayers.

New York, November 22, 1875.

The following astonishing facts have recently been made public in the sworn testimony of Andrew J. Garvey :—

" At one time he was told by Woodward that Connolly wanted a house built, and that it would be necessary to make out bills so as to cover the expense, which he did, and got \$119,000 for work that was not done at all for the city. Seven warrants were drawn, amounting to \$368,378.24 to pay for Connolly's house. The witness said he was to get \$60,000 from the city for repairing Tweed's house in Greenwich, and the houses of

other people of whom he did not care to speak. He paid out \$50,000 to be used for Albany purposes; \$40,000 he gave to Ingersoll. The witness stated that he received instructions from Ingersoll early in September, 1871, that it was necessary that everything bearing on city matters should be destroyed; he destroyed everything that afternoon and evening, subsequent to the disclosures of the fraud."

Tilden, having allowed Connolly to escape, pardons Ingersoll, and then is represented in the picture papers thus :—



ON THE SCENT; or, Our Modern Nimrod.

PETER B. SWEENEY (to Connolly)—I say, Dick, do you think that we are in range of Sam. Tilden's breech-loader?

R. B. CONNOLLY—I don't know. Peter. That new dog of his may not be able to scent us across the water, but how about our Real Estate? I must telegraph Bob Hutchings, to keep a sharp lookout.

What politician ever played the "reform" dodge like Samuel J. Tilden?

CHAPTER XIV.

TILDEN WISER THAN SOLOMON.

THE Jewish king laid down the rule, "Let another man praise thee, and not thine own mouth; a stranger, and not thine own lips." — Prov. xxvii. 3.

But *that* was said before the age of "*modern improvements*," and the invention of "reform movements," in the "Tildenian" sense!

Solomon did not write editorials about himself, or subsidize the picture papers!

Tilden, with his "combinations," could beat Solomon out of sight in a canvass for the Governorship of the State of New York!!

In the most remarkable letter to the "New York Times," referred to in a previous chapter, he, with childlike simplicity and candor, announces himself as the only unquestionably honest man in the State of New York; and that, at the time, when he assured Tweed of the total absence of "un-kind feelings," down in those recesses in his heart, where even woman, with all her curiosity, had never been able to penetrate! Thus said Tilden:—

"I was convinced corruption had become almost universal. I desired to save from degradation the great Democratic party, whose principles and traditions were mine by inheritance and conviction, and make it an instrument of a reaction, which alone could save free government."

"Holding wearily the end of the rope because I feared it might go if I dropped it, I kept the State organization in absolute independence."

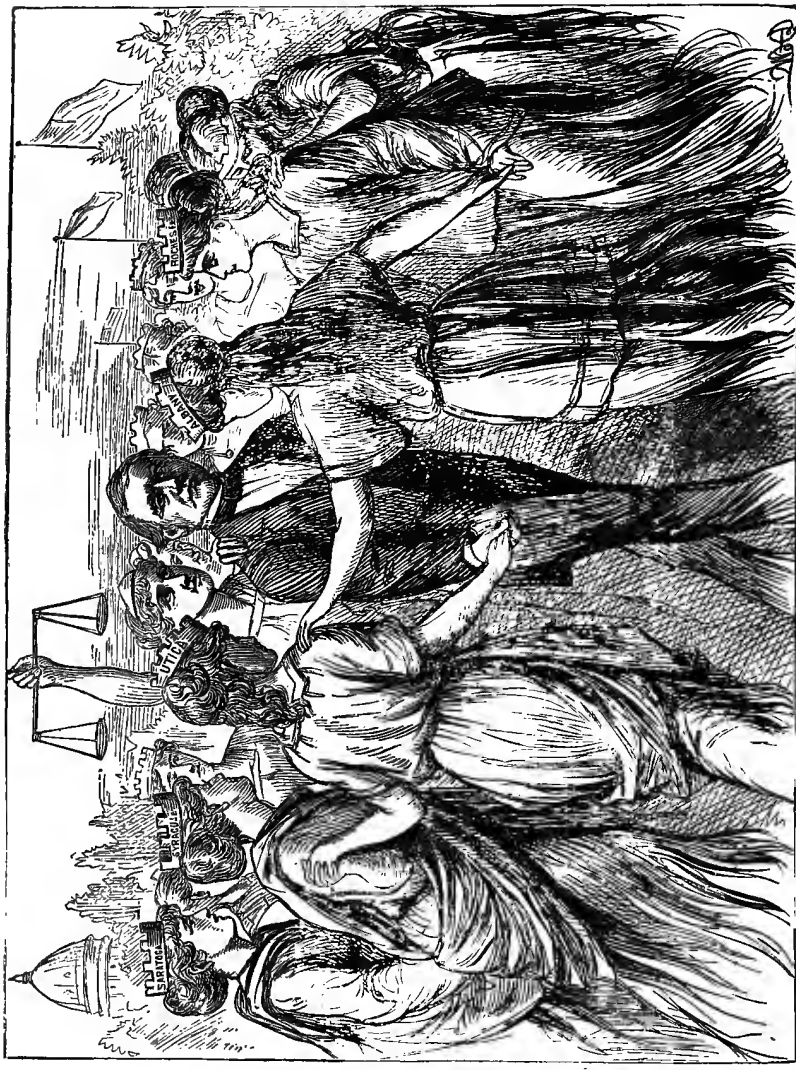
On another occasion, he gently "lets his left-hand know what his right hand doeth" publicly, in this wise:—

"On the eve of the election" (writes Tilden), "Mr. Wickham (now Mayor) came to me to say 'they could not supply booths and ballots without \$10,000 beyond what they were able to raise.' I agreed to provide it, and did so."

He also furnishes striking incidents, in which *himself* is the central figure portrayed in these bright colors, to the "Times":—

"I went into the Comptroller's office. There sat Mr. Jones and Mr. Jennings" (Proprietor and Editor "New York Times"). "The former said, 'We want an interview with you.' Mr. Green kindly gave us a room in the basement. Mr. Jennings said, 'Do you see any daylight?' and went on to say, 'That the contest was too exhausting to be continued very long.' I stretched out my hand to him and said, 'Be of good cheer! We shall win in this fight.'"

(A "TILDEN CARTOON," published contemporaneously with his speech-making tour (Aug., 1875) in the cities in the "Canal District." Its proper title would be "**How WE Apples Swim!**"—ED.)



"SWINCING AROUND THE CIRCLE: A Ring Governor Tilden Cannot Break."

The "New York Times," of February 8, 1873, contains the following editorial reply:—

HISTORY, ACCORDING TO MR. TILDEN.

"We have had the pleasure of receiving from Mr. Samuel J. Tilden seventeen long slips of printed matter measuring twenty-six feet eight inches in length. It is like a sea-serpent in its huge proportions.

"*Mr. Tilden is a great man, but we (Jones & Jennings) never asked an interview with him. Mr. Green requested us to see him. No such words were uttered; there are many statements in this colossal pamphlet which WERE NOT TRUE. When he denies what did happen, and narrates things which did not, and repeats conversations which never took*

place, we are bound to believe that it is only Mr. Tilden's memory that has played him a trick.

"In reality he seemed afraid of his own shadow. He appeared to think that Tweed was waiting for him at the door. His voice was never raised above a lover's whisper. When Tweed was dangerous Mr. Tilden did not dare stand in his path. When Tweed was down, Tilden hauled out his little sword and declared that he had killed him. He was like Jack Falstaff after *Shrewsbury*, there was no end to the foes he had slaughtered."

Leaving the reader to decide whether Solomon or Tilden is the best guide in New York politics, we leave this remarkable instance of "self-puffery," and the "neighbors'"* remarks thereon

Another rich specimen is the following:—

(From Gov. Tilden's speech at Buffalo, Aug. 10th, 1875.)

If the people of this State will send to the next session of the Legislative bodies Representatives who will honestly co-oper-

ate in this great work, here I to-day promise them and promise you that whereas WE reduced the taxes last year from 7½ to 6 mills, next year WE will put them down to 4½ and even 4 mills.

The "last year" was 1874, and before Tilden held the office then so ably filled by Gov. Dix. The old fable of "*How we apples swim!*" is well illustrated hereby!

* "He that is *first* in his own cause seemeth just; but his *neighbor* cometh

and searcheth him." Solomon, Pr. xviii. 17.

CHAPTER XV.

OPINION OF THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE.

Extracts from letters signed, and speeches delivered by S. J. Tilden.

"Senators and Assemblymen had been bought for this iniquity (the Tweed charter). It was stated, on the authority of Judge Noah Davis, as derived from a well-known member of the lobby (doubtless A. D. Barber), that the price paid six leading Republican Senators was, to each \$10,000 for the charter, and \$5,000 for kindred bills of the session, and \$5,000 for similar services for the next year (\$20,000 each!). *Five of those Senators now* (1873)

sit in the highest seats of the Grant Republican Sanhedrim, in Albany. The 'Times' has for a long while been still as a mouse about them.

"I have heard and believed that the influence of the Republican organization had been habitually sold to the lobbies. Sometimes in the guise of counsel fees, and sometimes without any affectation of decency." (*See Letter to N. Y. Times, January 27, 1873.*)

Again, —

"*How was it accomplished?*"

"*By taking \$1,000,000 stolen from the*

tax-payers, and buying in the shambles a majority of both Houses."

(*Speech at Cooper Institute, Nov. 1871.*)

Governor Tilden's "organ," at Albany, published the following in its editorial columns in January, 1876: —

"Those who imagined that this legislature was an exception to its predecessors in the lack of material to organize a first-class brigade of Black-Horse Cavalry and a battalion of bone-hunters must at this time be convinced of their error. The rush of resolutions for all sorts of investigations and bills of a questionable kind,

together with the signs about the Capitol, make it evident that plenty of this work is being mapped out. An influential member of the Assembly assured me to-day that he had received a letter from a member, telling him that an organization of strikers had already been formed."

By this it would seem that His Excellency's opinion of the Legislative Department of Government does not improve!

We could undertake to prove that Tilden's money and influence were exerted in 1875 to elect one of the Republican Senators whom he denounced in 1873 as having been retained by Tweed!

But if we entered on the subject of his political barter and trades with

an attempt to expose all his secret plots in that line, too much space would be required, and we omit it altogether, or at least for the present. A slip from the "New York Herald," of January, 1876, gives a hint of the topic, which can be expanded when advisable:—

"TILDEN'S LATEST MOVE.

"Attorney-General Fairchild left here to-day with private instructions from Governor Tilden, to find out all about Bixby's charter, and the extent of the support it receives in New York.

"He got alarmed for Tammany Hall, to which he looks for his main support in the

National Convention. Fairchild was instructed, as I am informed by one who, in political parlance, 'comes from the inside,' to see John Kelly, and recommend a stronger and more binding covenant with the Custom-house Republicans."

We take the following extracts from articles inserted during 1875 in certain of the New York dailies, understood to be in the pay and interest of Tilden. The following refers to the Legislative *Democratic* Caucus, which nominated Mr. Kernan for Senator in 1875:—

"It was Governor Tilden who saved the Senatorial Caucus from the taint of impurity, by sending word to the 'strikers' (*i. e.* slang phrase for members of the

Legislature who could be 'bought in the Shambles') that if any of them took money, it would be for the last time."

Again,—

"Under the lead of Senator Woodin, the last remaining representative of that servile band of Republicans who wore the collar of Tweed, and ate the crumbs that

fell from his table" (*i. e.* \$20,000 for his votes in 1870, as stated in Tilden's letter to "New York Times").

Again,—

"There has been some question whether this was a more or less dishonest Legislature than its predecessor. It was praised as being one of the most honest on record, because only forty-five out of the one hundred and twenty-eight members were openly in market. The enlogist was a Democrat and a partisan. On the other hand, an old member denounced it as one

of the most corrupt; and another said there were eighty members who could be 'reached' (*i. e.* slang phrase for 'bought in the shambles'). But there has been comparatively little money used here this winter, though the *Rapid Transit discussion* was said to be profitable while it lasted."*

* Referring to the bribes paid to pass the Greenwich Street Elevated Railroad Bill, noticed elsewhere.

CHAPTER XVI.

A BOGUS REFORM MEMBER OF THE LEGISLATURE.

SAMUEL J. TILDEN was elected a member of the Legislature of 1872 from a Metropolitan constituency. In that capacity, or as a "Reformer," *he was a conspicuous failure*. He seemed to be *only* "wearily holding on to that rope" which he must have been clutching, being "then the only honest man in the State of New York," as intimated in his letter of the following year.

He was seldom present at sessions of the Assembly, having voted *only ninety-eight times out of one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three roll-calls*. *He made no effort to arrest the passage of a single one of the fraudulent Canal-claim Bills, which were passed by scores, as he has since explicitly declared.*

When Mr. Raines, the State Treasurer, during that session, called attention to the Canal frauds, and the Canal Board asked the Legislature to investigate the subject, Tilden, the "Reformer," did not raise his voice in favor thereof, and the matter was dropped, without action, as the latter doubtless desired to reserve that "thunder" for more personal and conspicuous use!

He was not deemed of importance enough to be put on the Committee of Impeachment of the corrupt judges, for which that session was noted. In a word, he was anything but a "Reformer," or a conscientious Legislator!

CHAPTER XVII.

OPPOSING CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM.

FROM 1872 to 1875 efforts were put forth by the real reformers in the State to provide additional safeguards against the nefarious methods by which the taxpayers had been robbed of untold millions. A Council of Political Reform was organized, and to its efforts was mainly due the fact of the adoption of various amendments to the State Constitution at the election of 1874.

The effect of the same was to deprive the Legislature of the power to pass certain laws by the votes of members, which, according to Tilden, had "been sold openly in the shambles, sometimes without any affectation of decency." In favor of these most important and salutary reforms Tilden had not a word to say!

When the ballots were sent out by his Electioneering Committee it was found that all but two of the amendments *were to be voted down!* A friend in a rural district gave me the following ballot, as handed to him by a Tilden canvasser, and which is here inserted in fac-simile form as a "Reform" curiosity:—

"For all propositions on this ballot which are not cancelled with ink or pencil, and against all of which are so cancelled.
 For the proposed amendment to article two, relating to suffrage and bribery.
 For the proposed amendment to article three, part first, the 'Legislative and its organization,' section on Co eight in-
 cluding.
 For the proposed amendment to article three, part two, 'powers and forms of legislature,' being sections seventeen to twenty-five, inclusive.
 For the proposed amendments to article four, 'the Governor and Lieutenant Governor, their powers and duties.'
 For the proposed amendments to article seven, 'finance and canals.'
 For the proposed amendments to article eight, part one, being sections four and eleven, relating to corporations, local liabilities and appropriations.
 For the proposed amendments to article eight, part two, section ten, State Appropriations.
 For the proposed amendment to section nine, article ten, being section relating to compensation of certain officers.
 For the proposed amendment to article twelve, oath and office.
 For the proposed amendment to add a new article, known as article fifteen, 'relating to financial corporation.'
 For the proposed amendment to add a new article to be known as article sixteen, 'time for amendment to take effect.'

The following is one of the amendments voted against:—

"ARTICLE VIII, § 11. No county, city, town or village shall hereafter give any money or property, or loan its money

or credit, to or in aid of any individual, association or corporation, or become, directly or indirectly, the owner of stock

in or bonds of any association or corporation, nor shall any such county, city, town or village be allowed to incur any indebtedness, except for county, city, town or village purposes. This section shall not prevent such county, city, town or village from making such provision for the aid or

support of its poor as may be authorized by law."

The People understood the matter however, as appears by the following vote:—

"Nov. 3, 1874. For amendment of Art. 8,
section 11. 336,237
Against 195,047

Tilden, it will be perceived, was in favor of railroad robberies to the last! The services of such retainers as D. C. Littlejohn outweighed the interests of whole counties in his mind!

It also ought to be noted that in 1869 and 1870, when the firm of Tilden, Tweed & Co. had full control of the State, all measures of this kind, and also for safeguards to the canals, urged through the preparatory stages by Governor Hoffman, were promptly voted down at the general election by the influence of the political firm of Tilden, Tweed & Co.

What Tilden's Canal reform really meant is shown in a long article in the "New York Times" of November 24, 1875, of which the following is an extract:—

"GOVERNOR-ELECT TILDEN PROPOUNDS HIS SCHEME.

"Shortly after Mr. Tilden's election, last November, he talked with several leading Democrats, who called on him in New York about a grand political strike he intended to make in connection with the canals.

"He was particularly set in the idea that

the large farming class of the community would be captured almost bodily by such a 'reform' movement, and the promise of low taxation which should follow it; and repeatedly asserted that '60,000 Republican votes' would be gained."

Commodore Vanderbilt, above all things, desires to do away with the competition of the Erie Canal. He supported Tilden for Governor, and, in return, Tilden is compassing the ruin of the Canal interests as fast as possible. For the first time in its history, the Erie Canal, under Tilden's administration, did not pay expenses! One of his pet newspapers inserted the following paragraph in January, 1876:—

"PREPARE TO SELL THEM. — The New York State canals do not pay their current expenses; but, on the contrary, are a steady drain upon the treasury.

"Disregarding other most potent arguments for getting rid of them, and looking

at the question solely from a pecuniary standpoint, is it not a fair deduction, from the facts we have exhibited, that the New York canals ought to be sold, under proper safeguards, to private parties?"

Vanderbilt would like to buy, no doubt, with Tilden as Auctioneer!

CHAPTER XVIII.

A SELF-ELECTIONEERING MANAGER.

IN 1874 Tilden's long-sought for opportunity to make a prominent canvass for himself came to pass.

His combinations were all made, as follows: —

1st. The *Liquor Dealers*, who were *fully organized*.

2d. The *Railroad Influence*, nearly all secured.

3d. The *Municipal Powers of the City of New York*, available through his confidential friends, Mayor Havemeyer and Comptroller Green.

4th. The *Catholic Church*, placated by his donating a *few thousands* to build their churches (but not publicly announced until *after the election*), and also by his intimacy with Messrs. O'Connor and Kernan, leading laymen in that church.

5th. The *Metropolitan Press*, liberally subsidized, as far as practicable, by him (even the "Times" could not refuse to publish his legal arguments in railroad cases when paid for the same at advertising rates); including notably the *picture papers*.

These agencies were secured before his nomination, and made that part of his undertaking easy. Not taking space to relate the incidents of his bargains and combinations during his *personal "log-rolling"* at the actual sessions of the Liberal Republican and Democratic Conventions, suffice it to say that he was so repugnant to many of the old-line Democracy that, if Chief Justice Church could have been induced to accept, the nomination of Tilden even then might have failed.

That contingency being averted, but not forgiven, by him, he was duly nominated, amid the plaudits of Littlejohn and others of his retainers.

Then was "Tilden, the wire-puller," brought in, and spoke his piece, in part, as follows: —

"I stand scarred all over with blows received in past conflicts, when I have led the Democracy to *victory*! I NEVER INTENDED TO STAND AS A CANDIDATE FOR ANY OFFICE! I was content to serve as a pri-

vate in the ranks; but, having been nominated, I expect to be carried on the brawny arms of the farmers and mechanics of the State to a *glorious victory*!"

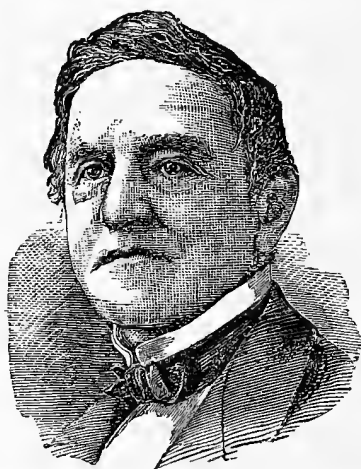
Thus his *first* speech after his long-planned nomination contained a deliberate falsehood, as all who heard it could testify! That *feature* was,

however, quite in character, and need not be dwelt upon; but his appeal to the *farmers* and *mechanics*, to rob whom he had exercised his craft at the West as well as in his native *Commonwealth*, was dissembling of the most artistic kind!

His nomination being accomplished, Tilden returned to New York city, and until the election spent his time in supervising the routine business of the Electioneering Committee of his party, whose head-quarters were in that city.

Money was his reliance, and he knew how to use it "where it would do the most good."

First he had a small likeness attached to a handbill, setting forth the obligations that "*Gen. Jackson*" was under for being "sustained" by him, when about 18 *years old*, according to his own dates! Also how Martin Van Buren was suspected as the author of some of Tilden's newspaper articles at that tender age, when he should have "tarried at Jericho;"* his overthrow of the "*Ring*," and various other equally absurd claims were set forth in the "root and yarb" quack-medicine style (including the accompanying fac-simile likeness), thus:—



SAMUEL J. TILDEN,

Democratic and Liberal Candidate For

GOVERNOR.

* Holy Writ, 2d Sam. x. 5: "Tarry at Jericho until your beards be grown."

EXTRACTS FROM TILDEN'S CIRCULAR, ATTACHED TO HIS LIKENESS.

"SAMUEL J. TILDEN was born in New Lebanon, Columbia Co., N. Y., in 1814, and is now sixty years of age.

"In 1832 Mr. Tilden, being only eighteen years of age, prepared an elaborate paper, showing the inconsistency of the coalition by the Anti-Masons with the Whig party, of such power and finish that it attracted the attention of prominent men of all parties, and its authorship was attributed to Mr. Van Buren.

"In 1837 Mr. Tilden entered Yale College. He completed his collegiate course at the University at New York.

"In 1855 he was Democratic candidate for Attorney-General of the State.*

"In 1860 he exerted himself to avert the civil war, which he believed to be impending. When civil war came he declared he would sustain the ADMINISTRATION IN ASSERTING THE JUST RIGHTS OF THE GOVERNMENT AND MAINTAINING THE UNION OF THE STATES AS CORDIALLY AS HE DID ANDREW JACKSON IN 1833. (!!!)

"Early in 1870 began the celebrated contest concerning the charter of New York City—Mr. Tilden went to Albany, and April 5th made a speech in the presence of Tweed and his legislative committee, DENOUNCING the charter which restored the 'Tweed dynasty' to power, making over to them all the offices and official influence of the city government; not by the voice of the people, but by the vote of a corrupt Legislature—strongly Republican. Under it occurred the notorious 'six million robbery.'

"On the 15th of September Mr. Tilden dislodged the 'Tweed Ring' from the possession of the Comptroller's office. That fall he led the revolt of 40,000 Democrats against the 'Ring' in the city of New York.

"Thus he staked his political existence and all party relations, threw himself into the breach in order to inspire courage in the Democratic masses, to correct the abuses in the party.

"That autumn he was elected to the Assembly for the purpose of purifying the judiciary. He was watchful and untiring until he saw the Bench was purified by the resignation of some and impeachment of others—this was the reward of eighteen months of immense labor, and entire sacrifice of time and business.

"Mr. Tilden, by his famous analysis of the accounts of the Broadway Bank, furnished the only judicial proofs by which the suits against the 'Ring' could be maintained, showing that *two-thirds had been divided among public officers and their accomplices*, resulting in the conviction of some and the flight of others from the country.

"Mr. Tilden's life has been mostly devoted to his profession; he is a man of extensive reading and cultivated literary acquirements. No purer man; no more sincere friend of honesty and reform; no more determined foe to corruption in every form; and none more deserving of the people, was ever presented for their suffrage."

50,000 copies of a large lithographic likeness of himself were struck off at his own expense, and sent to every *bar-room* in the State!

It took 8,500 to supply those in the city of New York alone! All observers will remember how, just *before election*, his sinister face stared out from all the "saloons," "restaurants," "hotels," and other places of "refreshment" in the *State*.

What would Alexander Hamilton have said to that kind of statesmanship?

Next, was a lithographed fac-simile letter addressed to rural voters, many of whom were not "posted" as to this neat method of counterfeit-

* This must be branded as false; the "Soft" faction, only, nominated him.—ED.

ing handwriting, and who verily thought that Mr. Tilden had personal knowledge of each recipient! Of course all such voted for him!!

FINALLY, he adopted the novel expedient of sending money through his agents into counties where the temperance sentiment was strong, and offering to pay all the expenses of running an independent temperance ticket!

I have this from Democratic sources, and could name *persons* to whom such offers were made.

Says a correspondent of the "New York Times," Nov. 26, 1875, speaking of Tilden's canvass:—

"That funds were liberally contributed to assist the Prohibition agitation is also beyond doubt.

"That the same thing was done last year is equally capable of proof. My authority for this is unquestionable."

Temperance papers, also, were stirred up to unusual activity by similar means, and over 10,000 votes were thus diverted from his opponent, and twice as many more voters, by such dissimulation, kept from voting at all.

Mr. John McKeon, a leading Democrat, estimated that Tilden spent in this and other electioneering ways, \$250,000 of his own ill-gotten wealth!

The "New York Times" stated that the sum was not a cent under \$300,000!

Election day *came and went*, and Tilden, the author of the Jeff Davis Peace Resolutions of 1864, was elected by 50,000 majority over Gen. Dix, author of the famous order of 1861, "*If any man undertakes to haul down the American Flag, shoot him on the spot.*"

The opponents of universal suffrage never had as damaging an argument as in this instance since the formation of the American Republic.

As Alexander, in apostolic times, had to listen for hours to the cry of "Great is Diana of the Ephesians,"* so General Dix† might be supposed to be serenaded by "Tammany shouts" of "*Great is Tilden of the money-bags!!*"

* See Holy Writ, Acts xix. 34.

† General Dix, soon after the result of the canvass was known, called a friend's attention to the fact, that outside of the two cities of New York and Brooklyn where rings reign supreme, his majority over Tilden was 5,209. The General said that he had never claimed popularity in those two cities!

But Tilden in those "two cities" alone obtained 55,526 more votes than Gen. Dix; making his plurality in the State 50,317.

The "N. Y. Sun," of August 9th, 1875, in a biographical sketch of Hugh McLaughlin,

the "Boss" of the "Brooklyn Ring," says that Tilden's nomination for Governor is claimed to be due to him.

Also that when a delegation from that city called on Governor Tilden to confer with him about signing bills affecting their city he dismissed them curtly, except McLaughlin, whom he invited to a private interview, and placing all the bills in his hands said, "You select the bills I ought to sign and leave them here." This he did, and Governor Tilden signed them for his brother demagogue!

CHAPTER XIX.

THE UNPRINCIPLED GOVERNOR.

THE demagogue had reached the coveted eminence! We are tempted to make a diagnosis of a certain long pause in his inaugural of 1875, but forbear, although one word to the wise would be sufficient! The well-known prolixity of Tilden was manifested in his first message.

He soon mounted the hobby of Canal Reform, for a special purpose, which was set forth in an anecdote of the "hobby rider," appearing in the "New York Times" of August 20, 1875, thus:—

"It seems that before the Governor sent his message to the Legislature on Canal Reforms he showed it to Ex-Senator O'Brien with the remark: 'Jimmy, that message will make me President of the United States!'"

He called on the Legislature for extraordinary powers to appoint Commissions, ostensibly to investigate frauds, *which State Treasurer Raines had exposed, two years before, to Tilden as a legislator, but without response!*

(Tilden took especial pains to arrange matters in the Convention of 1875, so that Mr. Raines, who had thus anticipated him, should not be renominated. Notwithstanding the latter's personal merit, and special claims on the party support, the "reform" Governor was jealous of him!)

Tilden had for years used a set of stock phrases in his political speeches of former years against centralization of power, and in favor of local government. In the circular sent out by him in 1870, signed "S. J. Tilden, Chairman State Committee," he said (the italics being his):—

"The true mission of the Democratic party is to roll back the tide of *Centralism*, . . . from which our immortal ancestors fondly believed that we should forever free the human race on this continent, and at last, by the force of our example, the human race of every clime."

Again, in his speech at the State Convention, where Tweed was dominant, he said:—

"Reverently, I thank God there is revealed the dawn of a new and mightier day. The Democracy, burnishing its armor and purifying its ranks, advances to fight anew the battle against *CENTRALISM*. Its creed is compressed in *two* ideas:—

everywhere the domain of individual judgment and action.

"*Second. To throw back the governmental powers necessary to be exercised as much as possible upon the States and localities, approaching in every case the individuals to be affected.*"

"*First. To limit as much as possible all governmental power, enlarging always and*

Thus spake Tilden when out of office ! But seated in office he at once called for more *centralized* power in himself than was ever dreamed of by any or all of his predecessors !

This opinion is forcibly endorsed by the Democratic Speaker of the Assembly of 1875, Hon. Jeremiah McGuire, (well-known throughout the State for his fearless honesty of both sentiment and action,) as follows : —

“ *To the Editor of the New York Times: —*

“ When the party met in convention in September, 1874, and adopted a creed of its faith and principles by which the party was to be guided, if successful, the ‘instincts of my ancestry’ led me to believe that the party believed what it professed — at all events, I believed it. In my simplicity it never occurred to me that it was a mere net to catch flies. One of the articles of the party creed enunciated at the time named was the application to the city of New York of the principle that every municipality had the right to govern itself; in other words, ‘home rule and local self-government.’ A bill was introduced into the Legislature giving that right to the people of the legislative and executive ridden city of New York. *Judge of my surprise, when this bill came up for a third reading, to find an Executive mandate sent into our body that a Democratic majority must not pass such a bill.*

“ This action of the Executive first opened my eyes to the fact that he would not yield a particle of power he possessed, but that he intended to reach out and grasp all that he could by any means obtain, even at the expense of his stereotyped annual speech and what the party had for years expressed. I could not and would not be dragooned into the support of such a deceptive and treacherous scheme, and I am willing to submit my action to the people of the city of New York and to those of the State. . . .

“ In the midst of a popular commotion created by his artful and deceptive canal message, the *Executive sent to the Legislature for adoption two of the most infamous bills that were ever sent to a legislative body, and which make the arbitrary recommendations of Charles I., of England, appear tame*, being nothing more nor less than to confer upon the Governor the power to appoint a species of Star Chamber court, and to enable him to remove, without trial, cause, or pretence, the elective officers of the State, and to appoint his own dependents in their stead. The ‘instincts of my ancestry’ led me to vehemently and vigorously expose and denounce *those grasping, infamous and centralizing schemes for power*, and then the dogs of war were let loose. I was an opponent of reform and defender of hold, bad, and corrupt men. For weeks, even months, newspapers teemed with abuse of me and fulsome praises of Tilden and his so-called reform; but not one of them, until recently, ever alluded to his infamous schemes or referred to the grounds of my opposition, — my opposition *to the abhorrent, vindictive, and anti-Democratic schemes of Tilden.*

“ I have alluded to one of the causes which brought me into collision with Executive ambition *to hold his grasp upon New York city and its vast patronage, and to make its Mayor a mere subordinate of the Governor.* From this time I was marked as a victim of obloquy, denunciation and gross misrepresentation by the Executive’s

subsidized press. I was written down as a member of, or connected with, a corrupt combination of men called a 'Canal Ring.' No man knew the falsity of this charge better than *Tilden himself*; but his policy was to crush every man that he could not use, and but little scruple was exercised as to the means . . . the schemes the Executive devised to betray and destroy the Democratic party, and to advance his own personal ambition came very near laying the Democratic party upon its beam ends, notwithstanding the frantic appeals of the Executive to the agricultural interests, and the apathy of the Republicans. *Such*

humbuggery and demagogism; such hypocrisy and insincerity; such treachery to party, and vindictiveness to individuals; such a prostitution of the interest of the people to individual ambition as we have witnessed the past year, I hope the 'instincts of my ancestry' will always induce me to denounce, and that it may be said of me, as of another Irishman, that I am 'too fond of the right to pursue the expedient.' This is all the ambition I have.

"J. McGUIRE.

"ELMIRA, Monday, Dec. 6, 1875."

We annex a likeness of this sturdy Democrat, *who esteemed the principles of his Party above the tricks of the Tilden Ring Demagogues, who seek to control it!*



HON. JEREMIAH MCGUIRE,
SPEAKER OF THE NEW YORK ASSEMBLY.

The "Albany Journal" of May 21st, 1875, contains a list of seven different Commissions which Tilden *asked* the Legislature to let him appoint and remove at pleasure, involving an expense of \$1,610,000 per annum!

The "Journal" remarks that no Governor ever before sought such concentration of authority involving enormous power and patronage. Some of his requests the Legislature refused, and granted others. Among Commissions allowed was one on canal frauds, which produced twelve different reports, nearly all of which were published to answer as campaign documents!

The Commission was claimed to be "non-partisan" when confirmed by the Senate, but it turned out to be mere political co-partners of Tilden, attacking only his political opponents in the Star Chamber style of Charles I. of England.

Co-ordinate State officers were interrogated by the Commission just so far as suited its purpose. The latter would then make up the evidence to suit its taste, and publish their insinuations free in every newspaper in the State in the form of a report to the Governor! No such privilege was accorded to the accused, and hence the proceedings were wholly *ex parte* and repugnant to a proper sense of official decorum and of justice.

Tilden caused the Comptroller, being a political opponent, to be thus attacked on the eve of the election. When the latter did not reply, and was asked the reason, he remarked that he did not propose to stand to a formal trial in the newspapers!

Another officer attacked was the Auditor of the Canal Department, who, Tilden's organs claimed, *held* the financial key to that important interest and source of political power.

The manner of his being throttled and removed is best related in his own communication to the Governor:—

"ALBANY, Jan. 11, 1876.

"The following is a copy of the letter of resignation sent by the late Auditor of the Canal Department to the Governor:—

"To His Excellency SAMUEL J. TILDEN,
Governor of the State of New York:—

"On the 20th of December I appeared before such commission, and requested at the outset to be allowed to make a statement, in the form of testimony, in regard to the several matters which had been referred to by the commissioners before the Board of Commissioners of the Canal Fund. This was refused, and the commissioners proceeded in their own manner for four

days to cross-examine me, not only in regard to the matters communicated to the Commissioners of the Canal Fund, but as to the others, and as to none of which had I had the least opportunity to give any direct testimony or statements whatever. On the fifth day I was accorded the privilege of having my statement read in evidence, occupying but a few minutes in time, and comprising four pages of the 124 pages of testimony reported, and then I was again subjected to a further cross-examination of great length and rudeness. The Board of Commissioners of the Canal Fund had adjourned to and met on Tuesday, December 28, 1875. It was only at the hour of that meeting that either my

counsel or myself were furnished with a copy of the testimony taken. Nevertheless, the matter was taken up at once, and, after hearing my counsel, the Board adopted the following resolution : —

“Resolved, That a requisition is made upon His Excellency the Governor, to suspend Francis S. Thayer, the Auditor of the Canal Department, and to appoint a suitable person to perform his duties, if it shall be made to appear to him that the said auditor has violated his duty in respect to the public money in his charge and subject to his draft, the particulars of which alleged violation of duty appear in the report of the commission to investigate the affairs of the canals of the State, which has been submitted to this Board, and which is herewith transmitted.

“The Board, by the resolution, did not assume to pass upon the question of whether or not I had violated my duty, but, on the contrary, expressly disclaimed any intention of even expressing an opinion on that subject, and simply remitted the whole matter, with the testimony, to your Excellency. This resolution was adopted between the hours of one and two o'clock, P.M., of December 28. At that time, and for some days following, I am informed, your Excellency was in New York city. However, at about six o'clock of that same afternoon, I was served with the copy of the order of suspension heretofore referred to. It thus appears that, although the Board of Commissioners of the Canal Fund had expressly disclaimed any intention to pass upon the question of my having violated my duty in respect to the public moneys under my charge and subject to

my draft, there never had been by any one, in any form, specification of a single duty which I had neglected, nor a pretence that I had illegally withdrawn a dollar from the treasury of the State. My suspension was a foregone conclusion, not to be influenced by proofs or argument; that in fact the order had been executed by your Excellency prior to the action of the Board of Commissioners of the Canal Fund, upon which it is purported to be founded, probably before the closing of the testimony.

“I thus find myself suspended without any specification of duties alleged to have been violated having been made in any form, but by an arbitrary exercise of executive power, and without any means of review or trial, and without any provision for my restoration to office.

“It seems that the statute under which I had been suspended makes no provision for a trial or any review of the action of the Executive under it.

“And with the understanding from an interview with you, that such transactions would meet your approval, I am at a loss to account for your precipitate action. In consequence of this anomalous position in which I thus find myself, and to avoid any embarrassment to the public service, I hereby resign the office of Auditor of the Canal Department of the State of New York, to take effect immediately.

“Respectfully yours,

“FRANCIS S. THAYER.

“January 11, 1876.”

It is evident that the action of the Governor was purely partisan in this case, his action being decided on in advance of the evidence !

Other persons were attacked by his Commission, and branded in the newspapers as thieves and robbers, for making settlements with the State for contract work on the Canal, which had been audited and paid for, under special acts passed by the Legislature, when Tilden was a *silent* member thereof !

The following items of expenses incurred by Tilden's Electioneering “Canal Commission” for some six months, show how he makes the people pay his piper : —

WHAT IT COSTS TO INVESTIGATE.

INFORMATION OF THE CANAL COMMISSION THAT WAS CALLED FOR BY THE LEGISLATURE.

ALBANY, Feb. 7, 1876.

The following are the items of expenditure by the Canal Investigating Commission, taken from the vouchers in the Comptroller's office:—

Pay of the Commissioners, at \$20 per day.

Bigelow	\$3,487 17
Magone	2,916 98
Orr	3,002 26
Van Buren	3,525 95
Total	\$12,932 32

Pay of Expert Engineers	\$3,571 26
Pay of Clerks, etc	2,642 80
Pay of Accountant	258 00
Printing	2,052 15
Stenographing	3,032 38
Witness Fees and Mileage	1,021 98
Miscellaneous	852 99

GRAND TOTAL.....\$26,363 38

There are a number of vouchers yet to be paid by the Comptroller, but the Commission claim to have caused the return of funds obtained by fraud from the State in excess of their expenses.

Bigelow drew \$3,487, and his printing-office over \$2,000 more, during a season when he was making campaign speeches to forward his own election on the "Tilden Ticket."

The State of New York never before witnessed such electioneering as that!

TILDEN EXPOSING FRAUD IS LIKE SATAN REBUKING SIN!

His administration of State affairs for little more than one year afford startling warnings of the dangers to the people resulting from elevating a dissembling demagogue to power.

The following are selected among many instances:—

Example I.

TILDEN'S NEPOTISM.

By this term we propose to include not only nephews as military secretaries, and other blood relations, but also his private retainers imposed on the public as appointees to office.

C. J. Canda, long his confidential clerk and agent in his Lake Superior interests, was, through Tilden's controlling voice, appointed one of the Commissioners of the Brooklyn Bridge, where six millions of dollars have been expended of public moneys, of which over fifty per cent., or three millions, have been estimated in the newspapers as wasted or stolen by or through the Commission.

Under the Governor's rapid Transit Bill, this same Canda was foisted in as a Rapid Transit Commissioner for New York City, and he is Tilden's tool in perpetrating the great frauds concealed in that iniquitous arrangement, wherein it is estimated that citizens will be needlessly despoiled of over fifty millions of dollars in value.* Canda, having been educated as a

* J. E. Parsons, Esq., an eminent lawyer, recently made an estimate of the dam-

ages on the route alone (Third avenue) as being twenty millions of dollars!

dry-goods clerk, had no suitable qualifications for either position. He was simply a "Tilden dummy."

Through Tilden's influence, one J. P. Sinnott, long a clerk and copyist in his law office, being about thirty-three years of age, was, in 1875, placed in nomination by "Tammany" for one of the judgeships of New York, with a salary of \$10,000 per annum for fourteen years! Scores of most able and experienced lawyers of the same party, and of mature years, were thrust aside for Tilden's clerk! Even New York city could not stand that, and Clerk Sinnott lacked 17,000 votes of an election, where the State ticket had about 40,000 majority!

Example II.

TILDEN'S "COLOR LINE" IN EXECUTIVE CLEMENCY.



GOVERNOR TILDEN — *Go away. No colored people admitted here.*

The above cut, from the "Acadian," is too good to be overlooked.

On the 1st of December (1875), two white and three colored men were under sentence of death in New York city. Only the "darkies" were called to face the Sheriff's halter! White man "Dolan" had his case "reviewed." Another, Stauderman, was sent to the Insane Asylum, by Tilden's order. The reception of the order by Stauderman is thus noticed in the "New York Sun" of Dec. 27th, 1875:—

"He (Stauderman) maintained this deception until he received the news of the commutation of sentence. He then unbosomed himself to John Dolan, acknowledging his fraud, and laughing heartily over it. A 'Sun' reporter called on him and said 'You fooled them nicely, did you not, Jake?' — 'Yes,' said he. He joked with

Dolan and the reporter, about the shooting (the girl he murdered) with as much nonchalance as if it was a trifling matter. When asked by them 'if he was crazy' he replied emphatically, 'No, I am not crazy.' 'But the doctor thought you were,' said the reporter. 'Well, that's all right, ain't it?' said he, laughing." *

THE STOKES CASE.

Whatever may be the opinion of observers respecting the degree of guilt attached to the slayer of the notorious Col. Fisk, the devotion of Stokes' nearest relatives has been of the most touching character.

His father, a venerable and worthy citizen, died during, or from, vain attempts, extending over nearly a year's time, in endeavoring to get *an expression of opinion, or a decision* from Governor Tilden, as to his exercise of Executive clemency in the case.

The foreman of the trial jury called on Governor Dix to urge a pardon, as stated in the "New York Herald," thus : —

"In addition to other facts, Mr. Bartholomew stated that, on urging Governor Dix to pardon Stokes, the former gentleman seemed deeply moved, but stated that as he had only nine days of his time to serve

when his request was made, he deemed it only courtesy to let the case lie over until Governor Tilden, having entered on his term, might adjudicate."

Again, from a correspondent who interviewed Stokes, and reported the latter's conversation, thus : —

"Well, the District Attorney who secured my capital conviction has been to see the Governor, and Lyman Tremain, John R. Dos Passos and the Rev. Dr. Armitage, of the Fifth avenue Baptist church, to which my family belong, have all been to see the Governor, and he has promised several times to look into the legal aspects of my case, which if he would, lawyers of good standing believe that I should have been discharged ere this. My poor father

died of a broken heart. He went to see the Governor ten times at Albany and saw him six times, and Governor Tilden promised last June to look into my case at once. I suppose he is too busy to attend to such matters. My mother also called on the Governor three times, and I asked my father to cease going to Albany as a favor to me, because I knew it was breaking him down slowly but surely."

In the *thirteenth* month of consideration, Gov. Tilden decided January, 1876, against Stokes. Whereupon the latter made the following observation to a reporter of the "New York Sun" : —

* Out of 281 cases of murder and homicide committed in New York city from 1870 to 1875, inclusive, but seven of the perpetrators were executed! More than one-fourth, or about 100, escaped even a trial

while others escaped from prison; being under sentence of death! But under Tilden's "color line" three colored men died for one victim's death!

"I am now starting in on the fifth year of actual incarceration for manslaughter in the third degree. But I can see what is the matter with the last phases of my case. A police captain wrote me last week that Brother Thomas G. Shearman, Fiske's at-

torney, had said to a member of Plymouth Church, in an office in Broad street, 'Jay Gould has circumvented Stokes from his pardon from Governor Tilden, and what's more, he won't get anything.'"

Example III.

TILDEN'S POLITICS IN THE MILITIA.

The following newspaper items are very suggestive, and need no comment:—

"Telegram.

"NEW YORK, THURSDAY, Dec. 30, 1875.

"THE DISBANDED 84TH.

"*Why was it Dissolved?—Political Tactics of Governor Tilden.*

"The disbandment of the 84th Regiment N. G. S. N. Y. is a subject of general discussion in civil as well as in military circles. The 84th, it will be remembered, was the regiment that signalized itself in the Orange riot of July 12, 1871, by first firing upon the mob that filled Eighth Avenue at the intersection of Twenty-third Street, and disputed the right of the Orangemen to walk in procession.

"It is held by a good many well-informed people that the motive of Governor Tilden in disbanding the 84th was to curry favor with the great class of Irish voters, to whom this regiment has rendered itself especially obnoxious. It has always been composed of 'Fardowns,' which means that its ranks were filled with Protestant or Orange Irishmen, a class excessively obnoxious to the Irishmen of the Catholic way of thinking.

"Then it cannot be forgotten what excitement reigned everywhere throughout the city, especially along the line of the procession; how Governor Hoffman stayed all day long at police head-quarters to give orders to the militia; how the latter were held partly in reserve; how the whole police force was put on duty; and it was a question with the Governor of appealing to the United States government in case the State power failed.

"Governor Tilden, who is undoubtedly the most prominent candidate for the Presidency next year on the Democratic side, saw that he could perform a stroke of policy that would win him the heart and hand of many an Irishman who is familiar with the story of the 84th and their blood-thirsty action on that memorable day in July, and resolve to disband the organization. Afraid, however, that it might excite too much public attention and criticism, he did the safe and politic thing of ordering at the same time the mustering out of three other regiments, that should have been disbanded years ago. It is the mustering out of the 84th (which has greater strength and efficiency than the 69th) that excites comment and leads to inquiry as to the Governor's motive. Quite enough of people are prepared to argue that the leading object the Governor had was political, and was only one of many by which he has already, and means in the future to secure the suffrages of various classes in his candidacy for the Presidency.

"INQUIRIES OF A 'TELEGRAM' REPORTER.

"A Telegram reporter, in his wanderings around among the members of the National Guard, found a preponderating degree of sentiment against the action of the Governor in disbanding the 79th and 84th Regiments, particularly the latter. Colonel Conkling pointed to the fact that by the last annual report of the Adjutant General the 84th mustered a total of 409 officers and men, and he insists that is

more than the average strength of the militia regiments of the State. It will be remembered that the gallant Conkling raised this regiment in the spring of 1863. It distinguished itself in several campaigns and returned to New York to receive a public ovation at the hands of the citizens. The Colonel gives no weight to the excuse advanced for the disbandment of his regiment, that the armory rents are too high. He is indignant with the action of the Governor, and if he had time to spare he should think it worth his while to make a public protest.

"FEELING OF THE OFFICERS.

"The officers partake of the same feeling as their Colonel. Lieutenant Colonel Beattie, Captains Cartwright, Douglas McKinley, Kerr, Fullerton and Head insist that before disbandment was decided upon

A paper of late date states that at the formal ceremony of disbanding the above regiment, various officers and men who had borne arms with it in its campaigns for maintaining the *national unity*, as above mentioned, shed tears of sorrow. Whether Tilden's protégé as Mayor's chief clerk, Col. Harrison, Jeff Davis' former private Secretary, who but twelve years before was sending prisoners from the 84th to the horrors of the "Andersonville pen," was present or not, was not stated!!

The following additional notice appears in the "New York World" of January 14, 1876:—

"THE DISBANDED HIGHLANDERS.—The members of the lately disbanded 79th have determined to keep up their military practice by joining other regiments. Two full companies will be attached to the

the proposition might have been made of consolidating with some other regiment.

"WHAT WAS DONE WITH THE 69TH.

"It happened on that fatal 12th of July that Brigadier General Shaler, under instructions from Governor Hoffman, took precautions to select the militia regiments that should form the escort to the Orange procession. Of course it would never do to order all the regiments out indiscriminately, so he adopted the plan of confining such pronouncedly Catholic and Irish regiments as the 69th to their armories, to be called on only in an extreme emergency. The Ancient Order of Hibernians, a powerful organization, never forgot this fact, and have kept it in mind ever since. As they were opponents of the Orange parade, they must feel they have been offered some degree of satisfaction."

12th Regiment and one to the 71st. These companies will be allowed to withdraw if the Governor is induced, under any change of circumstances, to allow them to be re-enrolled as a separate regiment."

Example IV.

TILDEN DOUBLING THE SHERIFF'S FEES.

The following explains itself:—

"THE SHERIFF'S OFFICE.

"PRACTICAL OPERATION OF AN OBJECTIONABLE LAW.

"To the Editors of the *Evening Post*:—

"Among the laws passed by the last Legislature and approved by Governor Tilden, was 'An act in relation to courts of

record in the city and county of New York,' chapter 625 of Laws of 1875, passed June 21, 1875, as follows:—

"'SECT. 1. All orders of arrest, warrants

of attachment, execution and proceedings to recover personal property in civil actions, except when the Sheriff is a necessary party thereto, made in or issuing out of any court of record in the city and county of New York, whether by statute or otherwise, shall be issued to the Sheriff only.'

So the Sheriff and his friends, not satisfied with his already large fees and emoluments, set to work to grasp from the Marshals the crumbs that fell from the only Court of Record to which they had ingress.

"The bill was passed as demanded, but

It may never have occurred to "Attorney," that a possible equivalent to Tilden for signing that bill, so oppressive, "centralizing" and undemocratic on its face, was, that after the fall election the Sheriff should arrange for Tweed to "escape," and rid his former partner of his dangerous presence. Tilden knows how such things are done.

The following poem, published recently, seems appropriate in this connection (the last two lines being "Buckman's" first effort in poetry) : —

"THE FUGITIVE.

"'Boss Tweed got away!' Well, Johnny,
you've read —

You see it is just as we workin' men said :
There aint lock or bolt in New York can
resist

If a rascal has plenty of cash in his fist.
That prison aint built that'll hold in a man
If he's in for a million and boss of a clan ;
You can't keep a nabob like him under ban,
The handcuffs are made for a penniless
boor —

The road's for the rich and the cell for the
poor !

The old man is gone ! Let him go ! Let him
go !

Oh, give the magnificent robber a show !
The lesson is plain, though it sounds rather
rough, —

You may steal without harm if you gobble
enough !

Of the baker's brown loaves borrow slyly
a few

For your children, — ah, then will the law
put you through ; —

A year on the Island, you reprobate, you !

Governor Tilden for some time refused to approve it, and in New York city was waited upon by influential citizens, who pressed upon his consideration the great inconvenience to the profession and the public that must result from the enactment of this MONOPOLY law. But the bill was signed.

"It is not to the marshals that this new law is an injustice ; it is to the lawyers, generally, and to litigants in small cases.*

"ATTORNEY.

"New York, December 20, 1875."

For sneak-thieves the dungeon swings in-
ward its door, —

The reins for the rich and the spurs for the
poor !

Why, how could a dollar-thief hold up his
head

Afore Tweed, who stole millions on mil-
lions, 'tis said ?

You remember poor Dennis one morn'g
(the fool !)

Stole the shoes so his Jennie could go to
the school ;

Cops jumped for him lively next day, and
— hurrah !

Didn't Conner and Dunham get him in
their claw,

And send him right up to the extent of the
law ?

He's at Blackwell's, I think, at this mo-
ment ; for sure

The feast's for the rich and the fast for the
poor !

Then here's to the splendiferous thief of the
time !

* It nearly doubles the cost.

To rob is an honor—to want is a crime!
Let pickpocket-jailbirds go grovel again,
Who plunders the State is a king among
men!

Then, Johnny, take heed! For the heavy
swing swing;

Steal large! Bribe the judge! Be the
chief of a ring!

And the people shall joyously hail you as
king!

For a difference in 'cheek' is enough to
insure

A crown for the rich and a lash for the
poor!"

*And the 'lection of a Ring lawyer
In Tilden the "reform Givern'r!"*

Example V.

TILDEN RUINING THE STATE REFORMATORIES.

In the "New York Times" of Nov. 30th and Dec. 30th, 1875, the following facts are stated, and the reader is referred to that source for their verification:—

"A MISCHIEVOUS LAW.

"EFFECT ON THE ISLAND NURSERIES.—THE CHILDREN TO BE DISTRIBUTED BY RELIGIOUS TESTS.—COMMITMENTS HEREAFTER TO BE MADE ACCORDING TO SECTARIAN DEMANDS.

"There was a law enacted in April last, at the solicitation of certain persons connected with charitable and reformatory matters, that, unless arrested by injunction or flatly disobeyed, will break up the foundling and nursery institutions under charge of the Commissioners of Charities and Correction, and send the children on Randall's Island to other homes—much the greater portion going to the Catholic Protectory in Westchester County and the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum at Fifth avenue and Fifty-seventh street.

"The admissions and discharges of children at Randall's Island averages over 3,000 a year, and there are from 300 to 500 constantly on hand. They are well taken care of, have six or eight houses, with ample room for classification, and just such education as is given in the City Public School No. 6, with a full force of excellent teachers operating exclusively on the Island. The cost of each child has been carefully computed, and is shown to be just fourteen and a half cents per day, or seven and a half cents less than \$53 a year. The institution has been well managed, and has rescued thousands of children from vagrancy and crime. Their condition will be in no way improved in the new homes to which they are to be sent, while the difference to the public will be very considerable. Over 160 will be sent to the Protectory, and the Orphan Asylum, and for every one

the Protectory will collect from the City Treasurer \$110 a year, or more than twice as much as is now paid.

"On Randall's Island no sectarian doctrines are taught. At least three-quarters of the vagrants sent there are the offspring of Irish Catholics. It is to get spiritual control of these children that the nurseries are to be broken up and the boys and girls sent to the Protectory. That institution comes this year to the City Treasurer for \$220,000, and every child added costs us \$110, and the Foundling Asylum of the Sisters of Charity wants \$208,000. The aggregate of city appropriations for asylums and reformatories is \$883,140, of which about four hundred and forty-three thousand dollars, or more than one-half, goes to the Catholic Protectory, their Foundling Asylum, and their House of the Good Shepherd. If the letter and spirit of that part of the law above quoted is carried out, it will not be many months before thousands of boys and girls whose parents find their support difficult or unpleasant, may be snugly quartered in these institutions for any time until they are sixteen years old, and the tax-payers can find out just how much they would have to pay every year for support and good sectarian education by multiplying by one hundred and ten dollars any number of inmates that the managers may think proper to count upon.

In an editorial of the same date, the editor of the "Times" says: —

"We call attention to this law as one of the objectionable acts of the last Legislature, and one of the links in the chain by which Romanism is seeking to bind the public institutions, penal and charitable,

as well as our schools, in the grasp of its restless and ambitious power. We demand its instant and unconditional repeal, and we ask Governor Tilden to give the matter his earnest and thoughtful attention."

As Governor Tilden signed the law mentioned, the portion of his message referring to the subject on Reformatories was awaited with interest, to see if such astounding assertions could be controverted. On the contrary, he admits them by his silence! His remarks are devoted to the cost of building and maintaining the State Asylums, of which the following is a sample: —

... "It is quite clear that an outlay of \$5,000 per inmate, for the purpose of providing shelter for the unfortunate objects of public charity, is unreasonable and ex-

travagant . . . I deny that there is any sound public policy in erecting palaces for criminals, for paupers, or for the insane."

This is as near as the "Dissembler" comes to noticing the above editorial of the "New York Times," about the following law: —

"CHAPTER 173.

"An act to provide for the better care of pauper and destitute children. Passed April 24, 1875.

"The People of the State of New York, represented in the Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows: —

"SECTION 1 . . . or other officer, shall commit or send such child or children, not above exempted, to some orphan asylum

or other charitable or reformatory institutions, as now provided by law.

"SECT. 2 . . . in placing any such child in any such institution, it shall be the duty of the officer, justice, or person placing it there, to commit such child to an orphan asylum, charitable or other reformatory institution, that is governed or controlled by officers or persons of the same religious faith as the parents of such child, as far as practicable."

Example VI.

THE "GRAY NUN ACT."

The State of New York was electrified, late in the fall of 1875, to learn, when the Session Laws were published, that Governor Tilden had, as far back as May 15th, 1875, approved of a new law which virtually destroyed the settled status of the common schools of the State! For a time the report was discredited, but a reference to the Statute Book proved the rumor to be true. The following is the text of the law itself (chapter 353 New York Laws of 1875): —

"AN ACT TO AMEND, ETC., AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE SISTERHOOD OF GRAY NUNS
IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

"SECT. 7. *The said Corporation is hereby authorized to grant diplomas and honorary testimonials in such form and under such regulations as its Board of Trustees may determine, to any person who shall have or may hereafter be graduated at any Seminary of learning of said Corporation, located within this State; and any such graduate to whom a diploma may be awarded, may file such diploma, or*

a duplicate thereof, in the Department of Public Instruction, and the Superintendent of Public Instruction may thereupon in his discretion issue a certificate to the effect, that such graduate is a qualified teacher of the Common Schools of this State.

"ALBANY, May 15th, 1875.

"Approved.

"S. J. TILDEN."

Upon this public opinion began to assert itself, reported in the newspapers thus:—

(*N. Y. Sun, Dec. 20th, 1875.*)

"HOW PROTESTANTS SEE IT.

"PRESBYTERIANS AND METHODISTS UNITING IN A DEMAND FOR THE REPEAL OF THE
GRAY NUN ACT—NO SECTARIANISM IN THE SCHOOLS.

"At the Methodist ministers' meeting, yesterday, Dr. Howard Crosby (Chancellor of the University of New York) was introduced in order that he might tell the Methodists of the action taken by the Presbyterian Church in regard to the 'Gray Nun' act.

"'The devil — (Tilden?) — does good sometimes,' said Dr. Crosby, ascending the platform, 'in bringing together Christians of different denominations to oppose him.'

"The doctor then read a paper showing that the Synods of Albany, New York, Geneva and Western New York, had appointed committees to address the Legislature for the purpose of getting the act repealed.

"'Aside from the sectarian privileges given by the act,' said Dr. Crosby, 'it is particularly dangerous as affecting our educational system; and whether a man is a Christian or a Turk, he can see the danger of putting into the hands of those outside of our educational matters the power to appoint teachers in our public schools, without being restricted in the least by the requirements of the Departments of Public Instruction. The Baptists are already moving in the matter, and it is idle for me to urge upon such a body as this, the necessity of prompt action.'

"There was vigorous applause when the Doctor finished.

"Dr. Curry, of the '*Advocate*,' thought that, aside from all denominational views, the act was an outrageous infringement upon our school rights.

"He wondered what the men were thinking of who passed the bill, *as well as the Governor who signed the bill.*

"The ministers heartily approved everything said, and a committee, composed of the Rev. Drs. Kettell and Crawford, presiding elders in the New York East and the New York Districts, and of Dr. Curry, was appointed to make an investigation, and report at the next meeting of the ministers."

(*From the Evening Post.*)

"THE GRAY NUNS ACT.

"There are so many objections to this act, without considering its sectarian character, that the next Legislature ought to repeal it at once. The feeling which has been manifested in regard to this matter is only another evidence of the determination of the people that the public schools shall not be interfered with in any way in the interest of any religious sect."

Even the "New York Tribune," Tilden's "organ," said, "This act is inexcusable."

Great interest was felt as to what the Governor would have to say about it in his next message. He referred to it, but in a way not calculated to lessen his reputation as a dissembler!

He took the position, *First*. That it did not give the power to appoint teachers exclusively to the "Gray Nuns"! *Second*. That for eleven years previous to the passage of this bill, the State Superintendent might have appointed any of the nuns or their pupils as teachers! *Third*. That it escaped the attention of the Legislature (*as though he had no responsibility about it*)! *Fourth*. That, three weeks later, he signed another law which repealed it! But he says not a word about repealing the act because of its pernicious principle! *Why so OBLIVIOUS to its tendencies?*

Said he to the Legislature:—

.....
 "A clause authorizing the State Superintendent to issue 'in his discretion' certificates of qualification to graduates of any seminary of a private corporation, known as the Sisterhood of Gray Nuns, on their filing with him their diplomas, appears in an amendment of the charter by Chapter 353 of the laws of 1875, which became a law on the 15th of May. This provision did not purport to make a person having such diploma a qualified teacher, like a person having a diploma of a State Normal School, but merely vested the State Superintendent with a discretion to grant to such person a certificate of qualification. That power the Superintendent had before, and had for the previous

eleven years. The provision had no real effect; it conferred no new power on the Superintendent; it added nothing to his existing power; but it bore the appearance of a special grant of a privilege to one corporation; which MAY BE PRESUMED TO HAVE ESCAPED ATTENTION, for the bill passed the Assembly once, and the Senate twice, by the affirmative vote of every member present.

"The law of the 9th of June was later than the Gray Nuns act; and repealed * the clause of that act which authorized the Superintendent, in his discretion, to grant certificates to graduates of the seminaries of the Gray Nuns corporation. . . .

"S. J. TILDEN.

"Albany, Jan. 4."

The same newspaper issue contains the following:—

"ALBANY, Jan. 4, 1876.

"THE GRAY NUNS ACT FATED.— Senator Woodin introduced a bill to-day repealing it in fact. Mr. Gilmour, Superintendent of Public Instruction, will recommend its speedy repeal in his report, which will be ready for transmission to the Legislature after the recess. Mr. Gilmour carefully abstains in his report from any discussion of the act that could be supposed to have a political bearing, but directs attention to the *invidious discrimination made by the law in granting a distinction to the graduates of a Gray*

Nun School conceded to the graduates of no other seminary or institution of learning in the State; even the Regents of the University of the State have not had this right bestowed upon them. He clears the record of his department with respect to the law by showing that *it was framed without his sanction or his knowledge;* and while admitting that by the General Education act, passed a month after the Gray Nuns act was rendered inoperative, he recommended its repeal by a special law."

* This is denied by able lawyers.

How do these extracts coincide with a laudatory article published, under Tilden's "inspiration," in a New York paper, of May 14th, 1875 (the day before he signed the "Gray Nun" Act), which blows his horn on the following high key:—

"It is strictly within the line of truth to say that there has not been a time since the opening of the session of the Legislature, that the course of legislation has not been watched and guided as carefully as the running of an engine by an engineer. Bills have been introduced that undoubtedly came from the Executive Chamber, conference committees' reports have been shaped, and through and above it all has been felt a constant pressure, the source of which was unmistakable; Governor Tilden, in short, always had his hand on the bridle."

All this sounded fine at the time, but when an atrocious blunder—in fact, crime—against the educational interests of the State is discovered bearing his official signature, he tells the Legislature "that it is to be presumed to have escaped its attention"! Did it escape the attention of Governor Tilden when he approved that bill? What miserable dissimulation, worthy of its despicable author!

*"I hear a lion in the lobby roar!
Say, Mr. Speaker, shall I shut the door,
And keep him out, or let him in,
Then try and get him out again?!"*

On the 5th of February, 1876, Governor Tilden sullenly signed an Act repealing the Gray Nun Act above alluded to, thereby confessing himself not as omniscient or omnipotent as his "Organs" had claimed!

Example VII.

VIOLATING HIS OATH OF OFFICE TO AID A RAILWAY RING.

Among the most notorious and most successful "railroad Rings" in the United States is that known as the "Rock Island Railroad Ring," taking its name from an important Western railroad having an Eastern terminus in Chicago. Its principal manipulators are J. F. Tracy, of Chicago, the President; W. L. Scott, of Erie, Pa., his brother-in-law; and David Dows, a well-known merchant of New York, who is a shrewd and active member thereof.

Some five to seven years ago the sharp tricks in stocks of this "Ring" attracted the undivided attention of Wall Street to the number and vast losses of their victims. Horace Greeley denounced them in the "Tribune" of June 22, 1871, and the Press generally held them up to reprobation. Mr. Greeley said, in reference to their sharp practice, in 1871:—

"The panic in Wall street, yesterday, was the result of a conspiracy only less extensive than that of 'Black Friday,' and was precipitated by treason as base as that of the clique which planned that disaster

by which the street was made bankrupt. The ruin is already wide-spread, and the full effects of the operations are not yet known."

A few days later he explains further : —

"The real secret of all these rumors probably is that Mr. Tracy and his friends are covering the shorts they put out a day or two before the Woodward failure, knowing, as they did then, that they could cause an explosion and depressure of the

stock, temporarily below its real value, by allowing rumors to go uncontradicted, and by countenancing a false view of the real value of the South-Western Railroad as a branch of the Rock Island system."

The tactics of the Rock Island Ring, in the case above alluded to, were almost identical with that resulting in the "Black Friday" panic, which is too well known to need explanation in these pages.

Among other operations of like character, they fastened on the Elevated Railroad in New York City, where Benjamin E. Buckman had invested the savings of years, as stated in my introduction.

To rob a Policeman in stock matters was but boys' play to them ; but, when they undertook to seduce, or browbeat, or circumvent, the Projector, whose history is given in the earlier chapters, they found a very hard road to travel !

It took them years to accomplish frauds that they fancied might be finished in about as many months.

They had driven the inventor and projector out of his own enterprise because he would not be a party to their dishonest scheme.

They had cut off my stock and interest, and that of scores of others,* by going through with a collusive mortgage sale, involving extraordinary breaches of trust and sacrifices of commercial honor.

They only needed, as they thought, the sanction of a Legislative Act to condone their rascalities in the eye of the law, and to give them a permanent legal title to a stolen property.

Accordingly, in 1872, they applied to the Legislature for such an act. The projector appeared there in opposition, and they were defeated at an early stage, in the Senate. In 1873 the attempt was renewed, which the projector again opposed. This time the "Ring" commenced paying out money. Certain lawyers, members of the Legislature, were paid "counsel fees;" but an "investigation" was sprung upon the stock-jobbers, and they only escaped a terrible revelation of their moral rotteness by having their agent commit wilful perjury (for which he was said to have been allowed \$30,000 in stock!), and by "buying in the shambles" a certain

* Among them the daughter of Governor Dewitt Clinton.

Assembly sub-committee, or rather a majority of it, at a heavy outlay in cash.

But the "Ring" was again defeated.

Stung by previous mishaps, the "Ring" renewed the attempt in 1874. By paying out money for votes in the Legislature, in a manner, and to an amount so well known as to be noted in the newspapers, they at last got their bill before the Governor. Unfortunately for them, the Executive chair was filled by Gen. Dix, who could neither be bribed nor bullied into signing such a bill.

The pressure brought upon him to that end was said to have been engineered to a considerable extent by *Tilden himself*, who was an associate with members of the Rock Island Ring many years before, in certain Western railroad operations!

Gen. Dix's veto of the bill to legalize swindling in the Elevated Railroad affairs was a most serious blow to the expectations of David Dows and his "Ring," from the fact that the time during which the extension of the Elevated Railroad was authorized by law *had already expired*, as a reference to Chapter 855 of Laws of 1868 will cause to appear. The "Ring" had been wasting four years in endeavoring to secure a *prima facie* title to their stolen property, which was not a "legal delay" within the meaning of the Act.

Meanwhile the scandal attached to their previous efforts to buy their way through the Legislature, and to other like cases, and also the indignation felt towards D. C. Littlejohn (one of Tilden's clients), by the farming communities which he had "bonded" in the abortive "Midland Railroad" affair, led the people of the State to adopt, by an overwhelming majority, amendments to the Constitution, to take effect January 1st, 1875, which positively forbade any further legislation of the kind sought by the "Dows Ring" in previous years.

Had General Dix, or any other high-toned statesman, subsequently occupied the Executive chair, they would have undoubtedly given up their long-attempted swindle as hopeless. But they knew that the most unscrupulous railroad "grabber" in the United States was now Governor, in the person of Samuel J. Tilden, and that they need not despair. They relied on their belief that the projector and the other stock and bondholders, not already cajoled into compliance with their "reorganization" programme, would not dare to incur the almost ruinous expense of a litigation to be carried through every Appellate Court to prove their color of legal rights to be spurious.

Hence, in 1875, the "Dows Ring" renewed their application to the Legislature, as in former years.

The defrauded projector and owners, relying on the Constitution as the

bulwark of their rights, made no opposition, and the bill was, *for a consideration*, passed by both Houses, and sent to Governor Tilden, the immaculate "Reformer." At this stage in the proceedings, an agent of certain owners of real estate adjoining the proposed extension of the Elevated Railroad, called on Tilden in the Executive Chamber and secured his attention ;

First. To the unconstitutionality of the law ; and,

Second. To the barefaced bribery used to pass it, which was the subject of universal scandal about the Capitol.

To this agent of New York citizens it appears (by affidavit) Tilden acknowledged that the bill was clearly unconstitutional on its face.

The only reason he assigned for not vetoing it, as required by his oath of office, was his great friendship for David Dows !

But he dissembled in fact about that motive, for with a keen eye to personal advantage, the reader will perceive, that, by simply writing his name, he could further injure the person whom he had defrauded and pursued at the West, and whom his chum, David Dows, was now following up in like manner at the East (for the projector of the only successful system of rapid transit in the city of New York and the "North-Western Pioneer" of the former chapters are one and the same person) ; and he could also stipulate for Dows to do certain political work for him, as Littlejohn had done in other cases for similar special favors.

Tilden was not the man to fail to kill two such large birds with one such small stone ! Accordingly he, as Governor, signed his name to the bill, which he himself had declared to be unconstitutional, and made it take its place on the statute book as a law !

No convulsions in air, earth or water followed ! Nature was as serene as before, and but few, except Tilden, were aware that, beside being a participant in the foul corruption and wrongs of the bill itself, he had tainted his soul with perjury !

Here is the oath he took, January 1, 1875, as required by the Constitution : —

"ARTICLE XII.

"SECTION 1. Members of the Legislature (and all officers, executive and judicial except such inferior officers as shall be by law exempted) shall, before they enter on the duties of their respective offices, take and subscribe the following oath or affirmation : 'I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support the Constitution of the United States, and the Constitution of the State of New York, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of the office of _____, according to the best of my ability.'"

Here is the infringed portion of the State Constitution which he wilfully violated : —

"ARTICLE III.

"SECTION 18. The Legislature shall not pass a private or local bill in any of the following cases: Granting to any corporation, association or individual, the right to lay down railroad tracks. The Legislature shall pass general laws providing for the cases enumerated in this section, and for all other cases which, in its judgment, may be provided for by general laws."

Here is the title of the bill which he himself judged to be clearly in violation of the Article 3 of the Constitution: —

"CHAPTER 505. — LAWS OF 1875.

"An act to authorize and require the New York Elevated Railroad Company to continue and complete its railroad in the city of New York, and to regulate the construction, operation, and management thereof. Passed June 17th, 1875."

Here is an affidavit, made by the agent of the owners of certain real estate, to whom Tilden stated his views and his motives: —

" , being duly sworn, deposeth and saith: —

"I reside in , County of , and State of New York, and have been a voter in said State for thirty years or more.

"That I am well acquainted with Samuel J. Tilden, the present Governor of said State, having met him at political conventions as far back as 1864, and at various times and places since then, when I had conversations with him on political and other topics.

"That, in the year 1875, by request of certain owners of property in the city of New York, I visited Albany during the session of the Legislature, to try and protect their interest in relation to rapid transit railroads in said city.

"That while there I became cognizant of the corrupt means used to secure the passage of Chapter 505 of Laws of 1875, commonly known as the Greenwich Street Elevated Railroad Bill.

"I met Governor Tilden during its pendency several times, and had considerable conversation with him about it.

"After its passage, I called again at the Executive Chamber, and finding the Governor disengaged for the time being, I produced a copy of the Bill, and sat down, and examined it with him. I informed him of the bribery used to pass it, about which the Governor remarked that he regretted to hear of the name of his friend, Mr. David Dows, being mixed up with such measures. As the title and sections of the bill were being read through by us, the Governor remarked that the title was in direct conflict with the recently-adopted

amendments to the Constitution, and other sections were also plainly unconstitutional, and therefore it was not probable that he would sign it, or any other bill with such glaring defects. I left him, with the impression that he would veto it, and so informed property owners on my return to New York city.

"After the adjournment of the Legislature I had another interview with the Governor, at his residence at Grammercy Park in New York City. He then remarked to me that he had not changed his mind in regard to the unconstitutionality of the bill, but that Mr. Dows was importuning him daily almost to approve it, and was willing to take the risk of sustaining it in the courts, and that he, Governor Tilden, inclined to give him the chance to do so, but had not fully decided.

"I called on him again at the same place, when he seemed still more inclined 'to do his friend Dows the favor.' The last time I called was with a German property owner, who wished to see the Governor on the same subject, and to present a written argument against the bill; but the Governor declined an interview, and within two or three days afterwards I saw by the papers that he had signed the bill above referred to.

"Farther deponent saith not.

"(Signed) — — —

"Sworn to before me
this 14th day of January, 1876.

— — —
"Notary Public,
"King's County,
"New York."

The name and residence of the affiant is omitted by agreement, but the original, with signatures attached, is in my possession, and can be inspected by an investigating Committee of Citizens, or of the Legislature, at any time. The credibility of the witness will hardly be disputed by any one.

Here is the provision of the State Convention about bribery : —

“ARTICLE XV.

“SECTION 1. Any person holding office under the laws of this State, who, except in payment of his legal salary, fees or perquisites, shall receive or consent to receive directly or indirectly, anything of value or of personal advantage, or the promise thereof, for performing or omitting to perform any official act, or with the express or implied understanding that his official action or omission to act is to be in any degree influenced thereby, shall be deemed guilty of a felony.”

Here are extracts from the newspapers, which corroborate the testimony in the affidavit about the barefaced bribery, by which David Dows and “Ring” passed their bill : —

[From the “New York World,” July 10, 1875.]

“It is an eternal disgrace to the State of New York that such dishonest practices are allowed to continue.

“Members are bought up on these ‘bills’ as you would buy a pound of beef!

“They have become so bold that they make no secret of it!

“The bill known as the Greenwich

Street Elevated Railroad bill was passed by the promise of \$100 each for 65 votes (a majority) in the Assembly.

“A noted lobbyist, formerly a public printer (Van Benhuysen) held the stakes, \$10,000, to pay Barber (Tweed and Tilden’s former lobbyist), when the bill became a law.

“This same man last year held the money for the same thing.”

Another still more explicit charge of bribery in this case appeared in the “New York Tribune” of a later date, worded as follows : —

“During the session of 1875, a bill passed the Assembly, conferring certain privileges on the Greenwich Elevated Railroad Co. of New York. After a time it was considered and passed (in the Senate).

“There is reason for believing that the railway company paid \$10,000 to bring about this result.

“How much of this \$10,000 fell to the share of the Chairman of the Senate Railroad Committee?

“Well-defined rumors of the kind generally believed, but which no man can substantiate, make Senator Selkreg’s share of the booty \$2,500, three other Senators being said to share the above-named sum (viz. \$10,000) with him.”

Both papers publishing the above were the special “organs” of Governor Tilden, and certain circumstances point to himself as the writer or “inspirer” of the last-recited article.

Now for the Governor’s political compensation. Here is one phase : —

TELEGRAPHIC NEWS IN N. Y. COMMERCIAL OF OCT. 13, 1875.

"ALBANY, Oct. 13, 1875.

"There are rumors that Mr. Orr, the only Republican member of Governor Tilden's (canal fraud) Commission has threatened to send in his resignation. He is disgusted with the manner in which the commission has been run by Governor Tilden's friends. . . . the Governor, on reaching New York, intends to send for David Dows,

Orr's partner, for the purpose of having him dissuade Mr. Orr from withdrawing from the Commission. Governor Tilden's friends knew Mr. Dows' relation to the Greenwich-street Elevated Railroad, and they will make all sorts of promises to give the road all the legislation required, if he will prevent Mr. Orr from resigning until after election."

Here is another instalment from Dows, published as an advertisement.

"CARD. — (*Advertisement.*)

"*The business men of New York demand reform. . . . As great practical good has resulted from reforms now being carried out by GOVERNOR TILDEN, and the Canal Investigating Commission, therefore we, the undersigned, merchants, bankers,*

and citizens of New York, are of opinion that the Canal Board should be in harmony with the Governor.

.
"(Signed)

"DAVID DOWS & CO."!!

The foregoing was paraded in all the New York papers on the day before the election in 1875!

Next from the National Capitol: —

"(*Telegraphic.*) *Special despatch to the World.*

"WASHINGTON, Nov. 1, 1875.

"The public announcement, by leading men of New York, of their support of the State ticket, and the cause of administrative reform, has created a feeling of

surprise among certain members of the cabinet, who profess to be quite unable to account for the signature of leading republicans.* This evidence of the great support which Governor Tilden is receiving has completely upset their calculations."

* David Dows claimed to be a "leading Republican."

The scheme that Dows was so anxious to perfect by doubtful legislation may be briefly stated thus: —

Himself and associates were entrusted with the Greenwich-street Elevated Railway, by being constituted a majority of its Directors in October, 1869. For a specified bonus, they were to pay in a fixed sum of money to enable the concern to be brought to the point of earning an income, on which its credit could be established.

Before paying in the capital agreed, they came to the conclusion that it would earn largely eventually, and that they could make more money to grab the property out and out from its original owners!

Accordingly *they did not furnish the capital as agreed*, but caused the road to

lay idle, and *systematically destroyed its credit*, while employing an Agent to buy up a majority interest at about ten per cent. of its cost! When this was done they formed a new Company, called the "*New York Elevated R. R. Co.*," in which *they were the principal owners*, and proceeded to transfer the property to it *while still being the Trustees of the plundered Corporation!*

On page 25 of Assembly Doc. No. 33, of 1873, is found the proof that they endeavored to seduce the projector into connivance with their plot, and on his refusal turned him out of office in the original Company, in 1870, and confiscated his interest! His opposition defeated their legislative plans, until Tilden helped them through in 1875!

An editor brings up the rear, beating the Tilden gong thus :—

“NEW YORK WORLD, NOV. 2, 1875.
(ELECTION MORNING.) (EDITORIAL.)

“The local organ of the virtuous and estimable firm of Grant, Murphy, Leet, Stocking, Casey & Co. abuses, eminent merchants like David Dows & Co., and others of like repute, because

these gentlemen recognizing the nature of the conflict which is to-day to be decided in this State, have manfully declared for *honesty and reform under GOVERNOR TILDEN* against dishonesty and robbery under Conkling and the Custom House.”

Gentle reader, now that you perceive how Tilden obtained all the foregoing puffery, by simply signing a single bill in violation of his official oath, did he make a good or a bad bargain? How say you?

CHAPTER XX.

TILDEN *VERSUS* THE COURT OF APPEALS.

IN Tilden's remarkable letter to the "New York Times" in 1873 (heretofore quoted from), the following significant sentences occur:—

"An attempt under color of judicial process to forcibly eject Mr. Green (from the Comptroller's Office of New York city) was anticipated; a carriage was waiting to take me to Judge Brady. If a judge could be found to vacate fraudulent orders as

fast as they could be granted, it was well; if not, I resolved the next day to open an issue in advance of the election to a new Legislature, — *a convention to revise the Judiciary.*"

The doubt herein expressed, whether there was a single judge in New York city above connivance at fraud, is not more suggestive than the assumption that the writer could set agencies at work "*to revise them,*" although that involved a Convention to change the Constitution itself!

In November, 1875, a similar startling letter appeared in "Harper's Weekly," under circumstances so peculiar as to challenge special scrutiny into the following particulars:—

First. ITS LENGTH, which was twenty-six columns of solid reading!

Second. ITS "PICTORIAL ILLUSTRATIONS," also published in the same and following papers, to match the subject, *showing deliberation and abundant means* to caricature the Court of Appeals.

Third. ITS ANIMUS, which was a most bitter and malicious attack on the highest and most honorable judicatory of the State. Its odious comparisons of some of the judges in the light of rivals of Tilden for Gubernatorial and Presidential honors, and its adulations of the latter, all unmistakably point to Tilden as the *real author*, although another name was placed at the bottom of the disgraceful article. The expense of the publication was evidently large, indicating a wealthy originator. Its prolixity was also suggestive of a Tildenian pen!

Its jealousy and malice called for a motive which only Tilden himself could supply. Its suggestions about summarily abolishing the Court, when only five years had elapsed since it was called into being by a large popular

majority, together with the insinuations that it was responsible for the escape of Tweed, Connolly and others from the grasp of the law, while shifting said responsibility from Tilden, where it had already begun to be fastened by public opinion, showed those tricks of the demagogue and dissembler in which Tilden stands pre-eminent.



THE ELECTIVE SYSTEM; OR, MASTER AND SLAVE.

THE ABOVE IS INSERTED AS A SAMPLE OF THE CARICATURES ACCOMPANYING THIS ATTACK ON THE COURT OF APPEALS.

In the same spirit of abhorrence which led the Supreme Court of the United States to cast its ostensible author's name* out of the list of candidates for its Reportership, the people of the State of New York should spew

* This fact was announced in the newspapers in Dec., 1875, as occurring to Albert G. Browne, Jr., the nominal author.

from official trust the real prompter of this attack as a sapper of the bulwarks of social order and official dignity and honor. The tenor of the article whole is fairly indicated by the annexed caption and extracts :—

“THE COMBINED RINGS.

“COURTS OF LAST RESORT. — THE JUST LIBERTY OF PUBLIC CRITICISM OF THEIR DETERMINATIONS. — A SEARCHING CRITICISM OF THE DECISIONS OF THE NEW YORK COURT OF APPEALS IN THE CITY RING AND CANAL RING SUITS. — THE QUESTION OF MOTIVE, AND THE QUESTION OF REMEDY. — THE SUSPENSION OF LEGAL PROCEEDINGS ABROAD AGAINST SWEENEY AND CONNOLLY.

“THE EMERGENCY FROM WHICH THE COURT OF APPEALS DELIVERED THE CANAL RING.

“Things had come to such a pass that these fraudulent contractors were then menaced with that ruin to which Governor TILDEN is now striving to bring them, unless the court of last resort should interfere and overturn the decision of the courts below. . . .

“THE QUESTION FOR THE PEOPLE.

“ . . . Why the *Canal thieves*, who combined with the *City thieves* to rule and plunder New York, were able to plunge their hands to the elbows into the people's pockets, is not that in the last resort they found favor with the high court which was elected to office in the year 1870.

“ . . . And upon this statement I submit to impartial consideration the question whether the controlling reason *why the thieves* who held carnival in the City Hall during the Rogues' Holiday of 1870, *have escaped punishment* and avoided restitution is *not that*, in the last resort, *they never have failed to find favor with the high court* which was elected in the year of their domination.

“ . . . As the latest and crowning demonstration of the *dishonor which it casts on the justice of the State*, I learn from trustworthy authority that by reason of its decisions, and that of Judge DONOHUE (which I have recounted), in the City Ring suits, it has been deemed necessary, upon consultation of the counsel engaged in prosecuting legal proceedings which had been instituted against SWEENEY and CON-

NOLLY in the foreign countries to which they fled, to suspend those proceedings *until either we get a new Court of Appeals or the present court shall emancipate itself from slavery to the evil influences which control it.*

“ . . . whether the present court of last resort is a *safe or suitable repository* of the supreme power of *arbitrament between human society and its speculators . . .*

“ *I have shown that its brief career exhibits unseemly specimens of servility to the corrupt men in whose favor its benches generated.* I believe, in a single word, that the facts which I have marshalled show that *such a court is not a safe depository of the supreme judicial power . . . it was the offspring of two corrupt Rings which were dominant and aggressive over the whole body politic.*”

[Tilden, like Satan, can quote Scripture for a purpose.]

“There is an early and sacred lesson of the rights of the people to criticise their judges, written in 1 Samuel viii. 7, for the instruction and guidance of all God's people, simple or gentle. When Samuel was old, he made his sons judges over Israel, and they, under influences the meanest and from motives the most corrupt, ‘turned aside and perverted judgment,’ and the people made a public clamor. ‘And the Lord said unto Samuel, *Hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee.*’ . . .

“ *There is no other remedy for malpractice on the part of this high tribunal than impeachment or a change of the Constitution; nor can either of these be obtained,*

if occasion arises, *except by arousing popular indignation against the offending judges.*

"... An affirmance of Judge Learned's decision by the Court of Appeals would speedily have overwhelmed these jobbers with ruin; but the Court of Appeals came to their rescue, and reversed the judgment. Judge Andrews wrote the opinion of the court. Although Judge Rapallo appears in the printed report as concurring with Judge Andrews, yet I am informed that in a certificate of the opinion, furnished by the official reporter immediately after the decision, he appears as 'not voting.'

"... I take the responsibility of giving to the public as an exposure of the fallacy and falsity of Judge Allen's reasoning such as rarely has befallen a magistrate of his pretensions.

"These provisions were not overlooked by Judge Allen, and he tries his best to argue all of them down, except the 41st section, which allows the scrutiny as to excess in civil cases. That was too hard a nut even for him to crack, and he passes it by without notice.

"... But the controlling authority against the judgment of the Court of Appeals is the *Habeas Corpus* Act itself, which, as Judge Allen himself says, 'needs no interpretation.' In plain and unmistakable terms it forbade any such interference with the judgment of the Oyer and Terminer as the Court of Appeals has perpetrated. One of these judges owes his seat to this vile falsification, while there is little reason to doubt that the other is in a like predicament.

"THE BONDS THAT BIND A JUDGE WHO SITS BY SUCH A TENURE.

"Two of the seven members of the bench, it thus appears, there was good reason to believe were not only constituted by the Combined Rings, but constituted so as always to be absolutely under their control.*

"TWO REPUBLICANS SECURED, AND TWO DEMOCRATS NEEDED BESIDES.

"But two out of seven were not enough

for the Rings. Two, at least, of the Democratic candidates besides were needful to their domination of the Court.

"THE NEED SUPPLIED.

"The Democratic Nominating Convention was managed into putting on its ticket two judicial candidates who resided upon canal lines, and always were notorious favorites of the Canal Ring.

"Thus, in 1874, when the City Ring cases lay in the Court of Appeals, but as yet were undecided, TWEED and his confederates literally owned two of the judges, and two others were deeply interested by personal ambition to conciliate the Rings.†

"It was just at this moment that Mind, as represented by Mr. TILDEN (in distinction from "Brains," personified by SWEENEY), achieved its first victory in the struggle.

... schedules prepared by Mr. TILDEN, with explanatory affidavits by himself and others, which presented and substantiated so plain a case of theft that TWEED never afterward dared to deny it. . . . FROM THE MOMENT HE PERUSED MR. TILDEN'S STATEMENT HIS AMBITION WAS PARALYZED. He withdrew at once from open political activity, and contented himself with employing the instruments and avenues of his established power to avoid incarceration and to retain his enormous plunder; and his success before the courts in this design forms an extraordinary chapter in our public history.

"... The necessity of self-defence had made them intensely, though sometimes covertly, hostile to Mr. TILDEN long before 1870. Before that year the conflict between him and the City Ring had already begun with the Democratic councils, and his prospective career and presumable proclivities had plainly indicated the aspirant to executive honors in the State, and perhaps the nation. Here was their opportunity. The selection for conspicuous judicial station of two of his rivals was their game; and they played it. . . .

"In opening this branch of the subject I have recourse again to quotations from Mr. O'CONNOR's letter to Judge DAVIS. . .

"This forensic impeachment of the court

(* Refers to Judges Andrews and Folger. — ED.)

(† Refers to Judges Church and Allen. — ED.)

had two effects. First, it frightened Judge ALLEN from the canvass for the nomination for Governor, after a pitiful effort on his part to get rid of Mr. TILDEN in favor of his (ALLEN's) cousin, the Chief Judge CHURCH.

"These two men stood in near relations of consanguinity, and one of them aspired to be Governor of New York, and the other was deeply interested in the success of that aspiration, to promote his own chances to control the voice of the State in favor of his own nomination as the

Democratic candidate for President. . . . "The Convention met on September 16, and Mr. TILDEN was 'triumphantly' nominated the next day.

"THE YEAR 1875 OPENED WITH THE ADVENT TO OFFICE OF AN ANTI-PECULATION GOVERNOR IN THE PERSON OF MR. TILDEN. AS MIGHT HAVE BEEN EXPECTED, HE RECOMMENDED IMMEDIATE LEGISLATION TO REVERSE THE INCONVENIENT DOCTRINE WHICH HAD BEEN DISCOVERED AND ANNOUNCED BY THE COURT OF APPEALS."

One of the most audacious insinuations of this incendiary article is the following:—

"THE MOTIVE OF LOCAL INFLUENCE.

"Four of the judges who have been elected to the court came from a quarter of the State where the leaders of the Canal ring long have been prominent in political and social relations, and where their

money and patronage long have influenced newspapers, managed conventions, controlled elections, conciliated the bar, promoted business, and given color to the personal intercourse of the community."

The residences of the four judges thus alluded to are Syracuse, Oswego, Canandaigua and Attica. This indicates the "quarter" of the State which Tilden deems tainted in comparison with the *pure* atmosphere of the city of New York, where he himself resides!

The ground work of this twenty-six columns of vituperation of the Court of Appeals is comprised in two points:—

First. That it overruled the theory of "cumulative sentences," the critic stating the case as follows:—

"WILLIAM M. TWEED was accused of fifty-one misdemeanors in as many separate counts of one and the same indictment. He was tried for them all at once, and convicted of them all. Sentences were pronounced against him for these offences, amounting in the whole to twelve years' imprisonment in the New York Penitentiary, with fines amounting to \$12,750.

"For a single offence of this sort the

utmost punishment allowed by law is one year's imprisonment and a fine of \$250. TWEED spent a year in prison, paid to the proper receiver \$250, and then sued out a writ of *habeas corpus*, claiming to be discharged. After decisions against him in the subordinate tribunals, his case came before the Court of Appeals, and, as *usual*, *peculation was triumphant*. He was discharged.

The reader will notice the gratuitous slur in the concluding sentences, as of a piece with the other extracts quoted.

The ostensible writer quotes three solid columns of fine type from a volunteer but nameless writer of a counter opinion (supposed to be Tilden's). But it so happened that the *unanimous* opinion of the N. Y. Court of Appeals in the Tweed case was, shortly after the publication of this outrageous article, followed by an *unanimous* corresponding opinion of the Supreme Court of Illinois on a similar case. Both courts holding that cumulative sentences

placed too much arbitrary power in the hands of a single judge, and were repugnant to proper safeguards for personal liberty.

The *second* point was, that the portion of the State Constitution comprised in Section 3 of Article 7 in these words,—

“All contracts for work or materials on any canal shall be made with the person who shall offer to do or provide the same at the lowest price, with adequate security for their performance,”—

should be construed to permit the Courts, instead of the Legislature, to decide about contracts made in behalf of the State.

On the Tildenian plan, a dissatisfied bidder for State work could apply to a Court to set aside Legislative Acts as “*unconstitutional*,” void his rival bidder’s contracts on the same theory, then get the approval of his own bid by a judge as “*constitutional*,” and there would be no appeal except to a higher court!

The enormous powers this theory would place in the hands of judges can hardly be conceived.

The lower Courts, the critic stated, favored this idea, and made decisions accordingly; so that, quoting the writer:—

“Things had come to such a pass that these fraudulent contractors were then menaced with that ruin to which Governor Tilden is now striving to bring them, unless the Court of last resort should interfere and overturn the decision of the Courts below.”

But the Court of Appeals swept away the whole fabric of the Courts annulling the Acts of the Legislature in purely business matters, by stating

“that the (legislative) power must be expressly inhibited, for there are but few positive restraints upon the legislative power contained in the instrument” (i. e., the Constitution).

For thus limiting the power of the Courts, and giving the widest scope to the People’s immediate representatives, the critic goes on to censure the Court of Appeals, because, says the writer:—

“It has construed away the great safeguard against legislative favoritism, to secure which the people went to the pains of a constitutional amendment.”

For these decisions, which commend themselves to every candid mind as being against building up dangerous judicial powers—the writer expatiates for eight columns on the *motives* of the Judges! (of which extracts have been given). The inference drawn being that but for the Court of Appeals Tilden would have had the “*Tweedite*” thieves all punished, the plunder all paid back, and would have become the only candidate of his party or of the people, for the national Presidency! !

The reader should here ask the serious question, whether such gross

charges — that the Court of Appeals is a refuge for thieves, and the judges hold their seats by tenure of fraud — coming even indirectly from the Executive chair, are not portentous of impending political and social disaster? *It was such demagogues as Tilden who first kindled the French revolutionary fires, which were only quenched by the best blood of the nation. Tilden, like the "Fiend of Bremerhaven," is proposing to place dynamite on the Ship of State, with an insurance for his own benefit. Shall he succeed?*



CONCLUSION.



Of Samuel J. Tilden's treachery and frauds in business, political, and official life, we here close the record, not for want of materials, but of space!

There are many items which might be added, but surely the foregoing will suffice! Great care has been taken to eliminate many incidents of a sensational character, and to state only what can be proved. On the other hand, the facts stated are but samples of dark masses in lower depths, which time and space will not allow us to bring to the light and spread before the people in detail, as in the cases stated.

If citizens of the State of New York will not give attention to these suggestive facts so much the worse for them!

The palladium of their liberties does not rest on so firm a foundation that evil men, if entrusted with power, cannot overturn it!

It is not a pleasant outlook for the future, to consider that in this centennial year the executive chair of the State of New York is filled by the most dangerous demagogue, as yet brought into prominence, in the Great Republic!

That such is the fact, in the light of the examples given, who can doubt?

Citizens of the State of New York, the situation involving the gravest interests is before you! In the significant language of Tilden's former partner, the ever-to-be-remembered Tweed,

"WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?"!

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER
TILDENIZED

FAILURE OF THE FAILURE
THE PEOPLE
of
THE STATE of NEW YORK
against the
TAMMANY HALL
GOVERNMENT

WATKINS MURDER	NOW THE ESCAPE of TWEED	WATKINS MURDER GUILTY at law
WATKINS ACT CHARTERS LAWYERS	CANAL REVENUE GONE COMMISSIONS multiplied	WATKINS MURDER GUILTY at law GONE COMMISSIONS multiplied

SORROWFULLY WE PART

S U M M A R Y.

IN thus tracing Samuel J. Tilden's career through nearly half a century of his public life, what a dreary waste of dissembling and fraud has been revealed! His record when itemized, and posted up, appears in the Ledger of History as follows:—

A SHALLOW PRETENDER.

Witness his self-advertised, eighteen-year-old "sustaining" of General Jackson.

See Chapter XVIII., p. 73.

THE ORIGINAL RAILROAD RING ORGANIZER AND THE FARMER'S FOE.

As conclusively proved by Wadsworth's affidavit and Parton's Ring Manual.

See Chapter II., pp. 5-15.

OF DOUBTFUL LOYALTY TO HIS COUNTRY.

Evidenced by his ill-timed if not traitorous Peace Resolutions, and his uncertain position concerning Union-saving efforts.

See Chapter VIII., p. 46.

A PERFIDIOUS ATTORNEY.

Demonstrated by his infamous treachery to the "North-Western Pioneer."

See Chapter V., p. 34.

- A SYCOPHANT TO RAILROAD
MAGNATES. Illustrated by Parton, as
quoted in Chapter IX., p. 50.
- A POLITICAL PARTNER OF
"BOSS TWEED." Proved by his own publi-
cation and by Horace Gree-
ley's testimony.
See Chapter XI., pp. 55-57.
- THE PROTEGÉ OF TAMMANY
HALL. Shown by its influence in
nominating him.
- A CORRUPTER OF ELEC-
TIONS! By his sworn admission
of personally receiving \$5,000
at one time from Tweed to
aid the well-known election
frauds of 1868, and his evad-
ing a disclosure of how much
more he received from the
same source, and which he has
since denounced as utterly
corrupt!
See Chapter XI., p. 56.
- A CORRUPTER OF THE
PRESS! As Tweed's partner, and
since.
See Chapter XI., p. 58.
- AN UNBLUSHING DISSEM-
BLER! Self-convicted by compar-
ison of his various public
statements as to his appear-
ance before Tweed at Al-
bany, April 4th, 1870.
See Chapter XII., p. 60.

A PUBLIC HYPOCRITE!

"I never intended to stand as a candidate for any office. I was content to serve as a private in the ranks."
(See Tilden's speech at Syracuse Nominating Convention.)

Not one who heard him utter those words but knew that the speaker was uttering a barefaced falsehood, as proved by his aim and efforts for years, to attain that day's result.

A DANGEROUS DEMAGOGUE!

Shown by the covert attack on the Court of Appeals, by certain military orders, and other measures too numerous to mention.

AN ENEMY TO STATE SCHOOLS!

The Gray Nun Act approved by him.

An unprecedented Centralizer of Governmental Power.

Denounced therefor by Speaker McGuire in 1875.

See Chapter XIX., p. 76.

A Traitor to the Democratic Party.

In fomenting the schism of 1855.

See Chapter VIII., p. 45.

A Covert Enemy of the Erie Canal!

Proved by his railroad combinations and by the net revenues being less under his administration *than ever before!*

See Chapter XVII., p. 70.

*A Disgrace to the State of
New York!*

That this organizer of the 12,000 rum-shops in the cities of New York and Brooklyn could by their means obtain his majority in those two cities, and defeat General Dix, who had a majority in the remainder of the State.

*A Menace to the United
States.*

That this conspirator, who, as a partner of Boss Tweed, controlled millions to bribe the metropolitan press, may yet reap profits therefrom in being put forward as a candidate for the Presidency; whose election would be a greater calamity to the nation than a foreign war!

Shall not Samuel J. Tilden, the standing menace and disgrace to State and Nation, be wiped out?

1st. — BY THE CHILDREN!

For undermining the State school system!

2d. — BY THE WOMEN!

For pandering to the liquor traffic, working ruin to Fathers, Lovers, Husbands and Sons!

3d. — BY THE FARMERS!

For being the original "Anti-Granger"!

4th. — BY THE MECHANICS!

For fostering Monopolies.

5th. — BY THE LABORERS! For increasing prices of food to pay dividends on "watered" stock.

6th. — BY THE CATHOLICS! For opening the door to sectarian strife and the "Commune." The good Archbishop of Paris was murdered by such "patriots" as "Pomeroy's Democrat" was raising up. Price paid it in two years by Tilden, Tweed & Co., was \$198,000!

7th. — BY THE IRISHMEN! See Speaker McGuire on Irishmen's Instincts of Ancestry. Chapter XIX., p. 76.

8th. — BY THE WHOLE PEOPLE! *To show the coming generation that S. J. Tilden is no exception to the old rule that "Honesty is the best policy."*

So let the year 1876 mark the political overthrow of

SAMUEL J. TILDEN

as the great

CENTENNIAL FRAUD!

Publisher's Extracharges on

Adding big drum & trombone as per your request

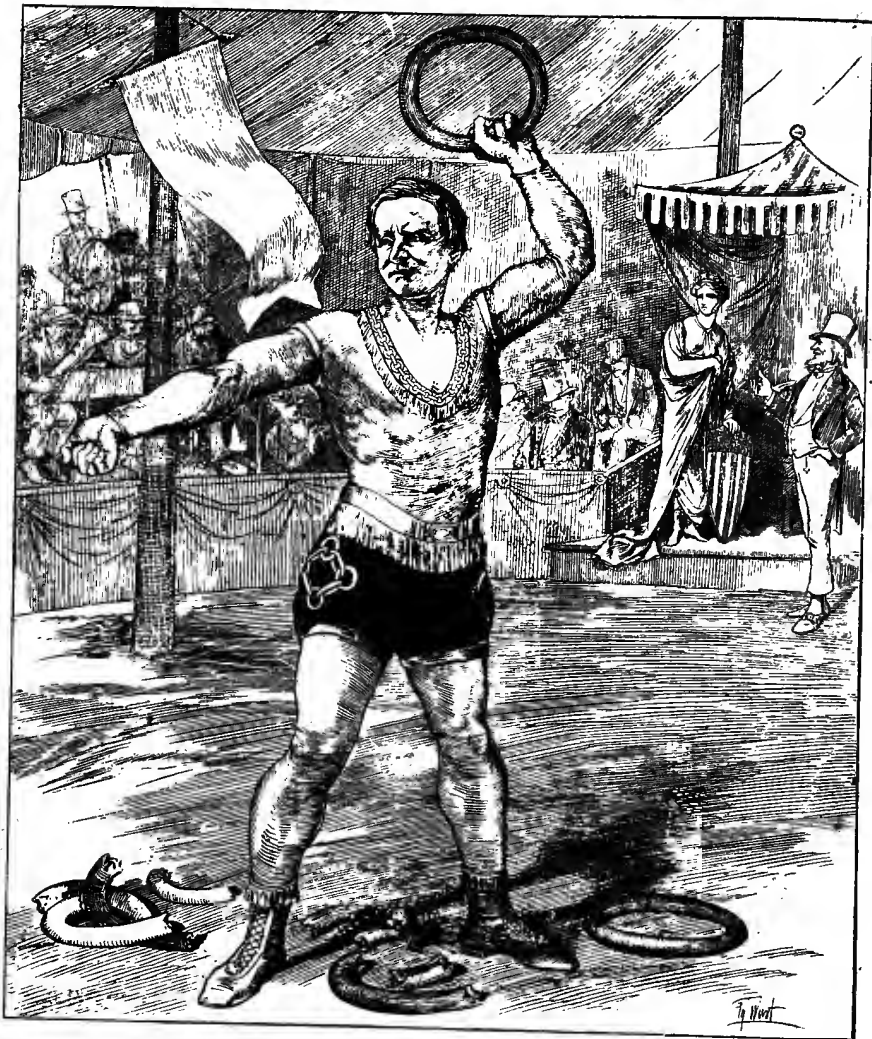
Rearranging drapery around dame Columbia

Working over "Uncle Sam" to make him look pleased

Adding a ring for you to break

Nominating you for Presidency in this Number of our paper

Received check on a/c \$ 5,000



THE GREAT RING-BREAKER.

From *The Daily Graphic*, May 13, 1875.

APPENDIX.



TILDEN'S PRESIDENTIAL SCHEMING.

IN the preceding chapters the topics were too serious to present any comical aspect. The subversion of morals, of honor and of equity, accomplished by Samuel J. Tilden in individual concerns, corporate transactions, political party management, and the affairs of State Government, will bear bitter fruit beyond his day and generation, and call for sackcloth and ashes to those who have awarded him such power for mischief. But when we turn from *what he is*, to what he HOPES TO BE, we can safely enjoy the comic side of his case!

"Sammy" is none of your "poor but honest" statesmen! He never carries sausages in his pocket, for a frugal noonday meal, as did the famous Ohio Congressman; nor would he itemize "50 cents for mending his breeches," as did Governor Marcy, when travelling on business for the State of New York! On the contrary, "Sammy" J. is ready and able to pay something to be President! How much?—that is the question! If the people of the United States would only fix the price to be paid for the office, or would put it up at auction, and take railroad bonds in payment, "Sammy" could win!!

The way to ascertain what "Sammy" should pay might be figured out by the "rule of three," thus:—

If "Sammy" can afford to pay \$300,000 to be elected Governor of New York, what should he pay to be President of 37 States, and of the Territories, including Alaska?

Ans. Millions!

"Sammy," without doubt, would divide his "six" points, and pay over half for an occupancy of the "White House."

Was not the Emperorship of Rome, on the murder of Pertinax, put up at auction by the Prætorian Guard, A. D. 193, and struck off to Didius Julianus for \$1,100 in gold, paid to each of the Guard, and the delivery made at once?

While Tilden thus has undeniable precedents for such an auction, un-

fortunately for him, neither the Constitution nor Laws of the United States have been suitably framed for that mode of procedure.

He will not, however, permit these circumstances to bar his way, but will undertake, by other means, to seduce the people into supporting him!

All the "combinations" which worked so smoothly in his gubernatorial plans will be brought to bear. Delegates to the National Convention will have an opportunity of "being sold in the shambles."

But his main reliance for popularity is the Metropolitan newspapers.

He wants to make a bargain with these wholesale dealers in "public opinion" and "personal popularity." "No man can succeed without a good understanding with them," was the remark, recently, of a prominent politician.

"Sammy" knows that full well, and has, if the "New York Times" is correctly informed, already organized a Newspaper Popularity Bureau, with a full staff of able "artists," "editors," "reporters," "interviewers," "paragraphists," and "advertisement concoctors."

In relation to this matter, the "Times," in 1875, said:—

"In the days when Mr. Tilden connived at all sorts of election frauds in behalf of the Tweed 'Ring,' it was a common thing to silence the newspapers by payments of money. Tilden has taken a leaf out of the book of his old friends of the Tammany Ring."

The "New York Herald," mentioning the same subject, in 1875, said:—

IT IS ALL A PART OF THAT PRODIGIOUS, UNTIRING, EXTENSIVELY-ADVERTISED QUACK-MEDICINE INTRIGUE TO GIVE MR. TILDEN THE NOMINATION FOR THE PRESIDENCY."

The chiefs of the above-named Bureau are said to be the firm of "Goodsell Brothers."

The "New York Times," in referring to "Goodsell Brothers," as Tilden's newspaper popularity agents and brokers, intimates that although they are the proprietors of the "Pictorial" known as the "Graphic," and have made considerable sums in "puffing" or "blackmailing" Insurance Companies, their reputation is at least no worse than Tilden's.

It gives the following as a specimen of their bills to other clients, which bills were actually paid in cash:—

"KNICKERBOCKER LIFE INSURANCE CO.

"Of New York City,

"TO GOODSSELL BROTHERS, DR.

"To personal services, and to the articles 'The Thug Warfare in Life Insurance,' 'Vindication of the Knickerbocker Life Insurance,' \$5,000 00

"Received Payment,

"New York, May 19, 1871.

J. H. & C. W. GOODSSELL."

If Tilden pays at the same rate for the same kind of articles with which the newspapers are teeming in his favor, his "six millions" will be reduced several "points" by the end of the Presidential race!

This business arrangement between Tilden and the newspapers is not a new idea. Other politicians in other countries and centuries have plied the same art with more or less success.

Thus the "London Morning Post," of Nov. 7th, 1796, mentions the fact that a rather odd bill had been presented at the Treasury Department the week previous, and ordered paid by the Prime Minister; the items being as follows:—

"BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S TREASURY,

"To _____, DR.
"News Writer and Newspaper Agent.

	£	s.	d.
"To Poisoning Bonaparte 3 times	0	1	7
Assassinating ditto twice	0	1	0
Defeating ditto 7 times	0	5	9
Making Insurrection in Paris	0	3	6
Insinuating that P. of W. beat his wife	0	7	6
Making people dislike him	0	10	0
Other items	2	1	4
"Total	£3	10s.	6d.

That was a "square bill"; that "meant business." The Premier was willing to pay for having the public opinion, at first unfavorable to Bonaparte's military prospects, even if that opinion should afterward be changed.

So Tilden is willing to disburse his dishonest gains liberally to have the people take him for an honest, ingenuous statesman, although they should afterwards discover their mistake! Should the straightforward style of the English "news projector" be adopted by Tilden's newspaper broker, his bills would read about as follows:—

NEW YORK, 1874-5-6.

S. J. TILDEN,

To GOODSSELL BROS., Popularity Brokers, etc., DR.

To personal services in visiting editors at back offices,
lunching reporters, and creating favorable sentiments
for you, sufficient to ward off attacks (each qr.) . . . \$5,000 00
*To spontaneously nominating you for the Presidency in
metropolitan journals, en masse, including notices of
campaign clubs, etc., as per following examples . . . 25,000 00*

(SCHEDULE 4.)

(Account continued.)

N. Y. DAILY TRIBUNE. — 1875.

FOUNDED BY HORACE GREELEY.

"The nomination of Gov. Tilden by the Democratic Convention next year was made possible by the election of Mr. Kerr as Speaker. Gov. Tilden has more elements of strength than any other Democrat in the country to-day. *The feeling that Gov. Tilden is being pushed forward by circumstances as the almost inevitable candidate of the East for the Democratic nomination seems to be constantly on the increase.*"

N. Y. TIMES. — 1875.

"Gov. Tilden has gracefully begun the social duties imposed upon him by his new position. When a TILDEN succeeds a DIX we may reasonably hope that the tendency to bestow office upon the worst or the weakest men in our public life has received a check. *The 'swinging-round-the-circle' speeches of Gov. TILDEN's recent tour were practically the opening of the Presidential campaign of 1876.*"

THE NEW YORK WORLD.

"Governor Tilden is popular not only in New York, but also throughout the whole country. We may safely say that he is more spoken of and more esteemed than any other member of the great Democratic household. There is no stain on his name, no flaw in his record, no defect in his very strong mental and stronger moral machinery. The more he is known the better he is liked; the more he is tried the truer he is found.

"Where can the Democratic party find a nobler or an abler exponent and standard-bearer than Tilden, whose name would be equivalent to a platform of all statesman-like, sound and true theories and principles? What Democrat would not be proud of him as a candidate for the Presidency?"

WORLD. — 1875.

"MR. TILDEN FIRST NOMINATED TO THE PRESIDENCY.

"A large meeting of prominent Democrats of the Eighteenth Assembly District was held at 396 Third avenue last evening to organize a Samuel J. Tilden campaign club under the auspices of Tammany Hall. The following nominations, upon motion of Mr. Sinclair, were unanimously agreed upon:—

"President—Thomas L. Feitner.

"Vice-Presidents—Richard Croker,* Edward Kearney, William Sinclair, Edward T. Flynn.

"Secretaries—Thomas Walsh, John A. Boyle.

"Treasurer—Augustus T. Doherty.

"The following resolutions were submitted by Mr. Clyne:

"Whereas, Our Governor, Samuel J. Tilden, by his honest and fearless Chief Magistracy of the Empire State, and particularly his warfare in behalf of reform in the administration of our great system of canals, has shown the capacity and ability of a great reformer, a statesman and an eminent jurist; be it therefore

"Resolved, That in this hour of danger to our republican institutions, his excellency, Samuel J. Tilden, is the true leader and champion of the people's cause in behalf of economical government in city, State and nation.

"Resolved, That we, citizens of the city of New York, pledge our united efforts in behalf of Samuel J. Tilden for next President of the United States.

"The reading of the resolutions was received with tremendous applause, and they were unanimously adopted and declared to be the platform of the club."

*"Dick" Croker, 1st V.P., is notorious for being accused of shooting a political opponent down like a dog in the streets of New York, on Election Day, 1874; he was tried for murder, and of course acquitted in that locality. Mayor Havemeyer, in public letter of Sept. 14, 1874, names Croker as "one whose career has been notorious for violence and dishonesty." Just the sort of timber to use as a flag-staff for Tilden!

GOVERNOR TILDEN
THE
HARD MONEY CHAMPION
See New York Papers Nov. 1875.



THE PUBLISHER OF A "TILDEN CARTOON," BEARING A MARKED RESEMBLANCE TO ABOVE, WAS APPOINTED BY GOV. TILDEN ONE OF THE COMMISSIONERS TO REPRESENT THE STATE OF NEW YORK AT THE CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION ! !

(Account continued.)

N. Y. GRAPHIC.

"TILDEN AND THE PRESIDENCY.

"His Candidacy warmly approved by an Old State Democrat.

"Among the prominent Democrats of the country who warmly second THE DAILY GRAPHIC's nomination of Governor Tilden for the Presidency is Lucius Robinson, formerly Comptroller of this State,* and a man whose political influence has never been measurable by the positions he has held. He is stopping in town for a few days on railroad business.

"As to THE DAILY GRAPHIC's nomination of Governor Tilden," said he, 'I am

free to say that the party will be extremely lucky if they get so good a man. I have known him for thirty years, and know him to be a man of sterling honesty, and possessed of remarkable and well-proved sagacity.'

"The railroads, Mr. Robinson, have a very extensive natural influence. How do you suppose it will be exerted in the matter of the Democratic nomination?"

"Unquestionably the railroad managers will be very favorable to Governor Tilden. His long employment as counsel for various roads has made his character well known to all railroad men. What they want is to be protected from plunder."

To "skilful interviewing" and "political information" correspondence, like following samples \$5,000

N. Y. WORLD. — 1875.

"SARATOGA, August 25.— Governor Tilden has spent part of several weeks here, and I have had two or three opportunities to speak with him freely alone. The story of his being paralyzed is worthy of its vagabond source. He is very nearly a youth, being a bachelor, and his complexion is that of a country girl. He has not a serene expression; but who could have a serene expression, being a candidate for the Presidency, with \$6,000,000? We chaps who have nothing monopolize the serenity. I spoke of John Morrissey. He said: 'I have always found Morrissey to be a man of devotion to his standards of rightfulness. It seems to me that his instincts are original, any way.' He expressed satisfaction with the Democratic newspapers of New York State as, on the whole, the best exponents of the unjobbing Democracy in the country."

N. Y. TRIBUNE. — 1876.

"To test the tenacity of the opposition to Governor Tilden, I sometimes ask men

who have been expressing themselves very strongly against him whether they think they can elect a Democratic President without New York. If they know much about national politics, they usually concede that New York is the key to the position.

"Do you think Hendricks or Bayard could carry the State?' The reply always expresses doubt.

"Well, suppose you were convinced that Tilden is the only candidate named who would be certain to carry it—what then?"

"We should have to support him,' is the reluctant answer.

"This, then, is the attitude of the Pennsylvania Democrats.

"Satisfy them that without New York they lose the battle, and that without Tilden they lose New York, and they are for Tilden.

"The Tilden slate figures out victory by the union of the South, the East and the Pacific coast."

To unhorsing Bayard, Thurman & Hendricks, your rivals for the nomination, by slurs, innuendoes, etc., "to make people dislike them;" including scores of paragraphs scattered among COUNTRY papers and "clipped" for exchanges by our bureau \$25,000

* Since nominated and elected to same office on Tilden ticket.

(Account continued.)

EXAMPLES OF SLURS ON SENATOR BAYARD.

N. Y. TIMES. — 1875.

"Mr. Tilden himself is openly making his bid for the White House. With New York inflexibly for him in the Democratic Presidential Convention, he believes that he can carry the day. No other Eastern Democrat is likely to contest the prize with him. *Bayard has been shelved, if ever he was seriously thought of.*"

N. Y. TRIBUNE, — NOV. 24, 1875.

"Who took the rag-baby by the throat and choked the breath out of it? The 'Cincinnati Enquirer' ought to be good authority on the subject. It has insisted from the first that Gov. Tilden was the murderer. So far as we know, *it has not once hinted that the Delaware Senator had any hand in the taking off. At most he can only be held as accessory after the fact.*"

EXAMPLES OF CRUSHING SENATOR THURMAN.

N. Y. WORLD.

"ISSUES THAT CANNOT BE PUT DOWN.

"Nothing can put down or cover over the real and dividing issues upon which we believe the great contest of 1876 is to be fought.

"For the dust and noise of the *blatant demagogues* who would lead the Democrats of OHIO and PENNSYLVANIA to perdition is a passing and a local folly."

[Above written by Tilden himself, four-column article.]

"World" again: —

"The Ohio Democrats ought now to see the propriety of resigning their claims to leadership and taking a position in the background. In politics, as in war, there is nothing respectable but success, and they have on two critical occasions proved their incapacity to succeed. They failed in 1868 and they have failed now; they have brought a shadow over the Democratic Presidential prospect, and, what is worse still, they have created a distrust of Western capacity to lead in national politics that may not be dissipated for years. The Western Democrats may as well begin to look elsewhere than in Ohio for their

N. Y. WORLD. — 1875.

"*The illusion about Bayard is the same.* It is the best name to rise on in this country, not because any of the Delaware Bayards gave it any great significance, but because there was an old chevalier who died *sans peur et sans reproche*. If Mr. Bayard can run on this saying, he will run well.

"But, except for the Presidency, he has qualities worthy of all consideration. He is pure, dignified and sweet of nature and life. He has honor and the desire to keep it. If I were a politician, likewise, and wanted sleek virtue, I should be for this *political kitten* of Bayard *sans purr.*"

"POLITICAL NOTES. — Gov. Tilden and Senator Bayard are the sole surviving Democratic candidates for the Presidency." *N. Y. Tribune.*

future representatives and champions; the assumed champions of that State are little else than disturbers of the peace and breeders of mischief."

N. Y. TRIBUNE. — OCT. 23, 1875.

"Poor Senator Thurman! He used to be spoken of as a Presidential candidate. Now he is only thought of for the second place. The 'Lexington Dispatch' asks how this ticket would sound: 'For President, Samuel J. Tilden, of New York; Vice-President, Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio.'"

"The 'Cincinnati Commercial' is trying hard to make a formidable Presidential candidate out of Senator Thurman. It would find the task an easier one by taking Andrew Jackson."

N. Y. TIMES. — SEPT. 16, 1875.

"Whatever Mr. Tilden's faults may be, nobody supposes him capable of repeating the rôle of Mr. Thurman in Ohio, and sacrificing the convictions of a lifetime on questions of finance and national honesty at the call of a short-sighted political expediency."

*Artist's Memoranda. Tilden's Cartoon No 21.
Representing You in danger from opposition Editors
Having You stand up and making Bayard and Adams sit down
Extra sized cocked hats and knives to contrast with Your serene face
Paid for poetry as per your order Received Dec 20th m/k \$ 500*



THE WASHINGTON FILL DE MADMEN ANGOT.

Halstead, Bowles, and Watterson (sing)—

"When Bowles conspires, and Halstead's there,
And Watterson lies laid his snare,
Let Adams, Bayard, Tilden tremble,
While we conspirators dissemble."

All—"Let us dissemble."

Halstead—

"Soon Bayard in his heart shall feel, he,
The knife that cooked the goose of Greeley."

Bowles—

"My rage 'gainst Adams shall have vent—
I'll settle him for President."

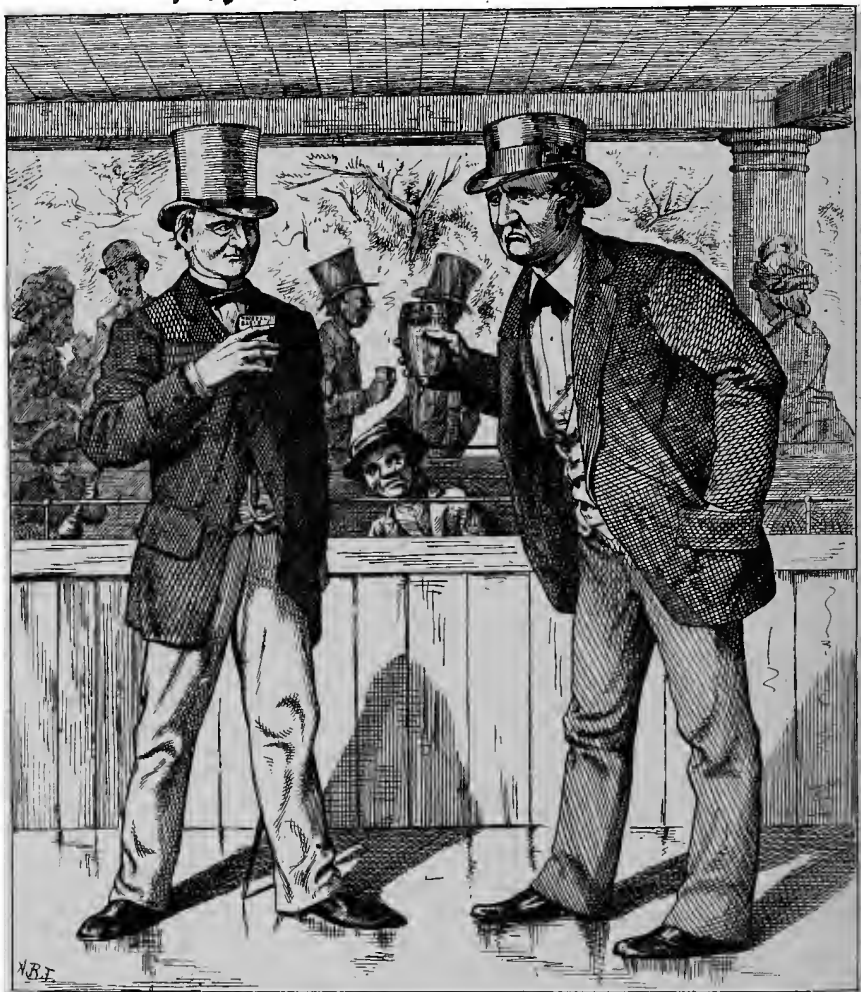
Watterson—

"But Tilden, he shall feel my knife;—
No babes has he, no tender wife."

All—

"Let Adams, Tilden, Bayard tremble,
While with our knives we thus dissemble."

*Artist's Memoranda. Tilden's Cartoon No 19 =
 Traveling Expenses to Saratoga to take your order for this
 picture; including losses at your friend Morrissey's = \$250
 Extra; Changing your legs to brace outward and Hendricks to cave inward*



THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES AT THE SPRINGS.

Governor Hendricks—"We Western people like this water for the gas it contains."

Governor Tilden—"We Eastern people place more value upon the minerals and metals in the water."

From *The Daily Graphic*, Aug. 20, 1875.

(Account continued.)

EXAMPLES OF LEAVING GOVERNOR HENDRICKS "OUT IN THE COLD."

N. Y. WORLD. — 1875.

"GOVERNOR HENDRICK'S SPEECH IN OHIO.

"Of all the speeches delivered in Ohio on the currency question, that of Mr. *Hendricks is the weakest in moral and intellectual vigor.*

"Mr. Hendricks is a peculiar man—in his nature unquestionably good and patriotic, but *lacking political courage.* His views have not been pronounced. . . . The friends, however, of two or three Ohio candidates are determined he shall never be nominated for the Presidency."

N. Y. TRIBUNE. — 1875.

"Gov. Hendricks' friends think an inflation victory in Ohio and Pennsylvania would make him almost certain of the Democratic nomination for the Presidency. *That is putting a high premium on fence-roosting.*"

"What has become of Gov. Hendricks? Before the election of Speaker, the Indiana press was full of information about him, and Hendricks' movements were springing up in all the Western States. Now the hitherto noisy Hendricks Club in Indianapolis is as silent as the tomb, and not a 'movement' has been reported anywhere."

SHAKING RIVAL CANDIDATES UP TOGETHER, AND HAVING YOU (TILDEN) FLOAT OVER THEM LIKE OIL ON WATER

N. Y. TRIBUNE. — SEPT 24, 1875.

"Tell me what you think of the other men who are talked of as candidates."

"Well, there's Senator Bayard — a clear-headed, upright Democratic statesman of the best type, *but not available.* He comes from south of Mason's and Dixon's line.

"A year ago, Senator Thurman was my man, but now *he is not to be thought of as a candidate.* No matter how Ohio goes next month, it won't be safe to take a can-

didate from that State. West of Ohio, I believe Gov. Hendricks is the only prominent aspirant. He is eight years too late. Ever since 1868, he has been a standing candidate, and his *popularity has been oozing away little by little, until he has none left outside of Indiana.* The whole North-west is bare of available men, and the South is forbidden ground. *So you see whichever way we look we come back to Gov. Tilden.*

To spurring up editorial enthusiasm on your eight-column annual messages (delicate and difficult business, requiring best correspondents in our bureau) \$10,000

EXAMPLES.

WORLD. — 1876.

UTICA RURAL SENTIMENT.

"It is in this part of the message, however, that Gov. Tilden's utterly unmatched mastery in fiscal problems, facts and laws, is shown at its best, although the earlier half of the message is but its application to the business of this State, and an exhibition of his singular powers in active exercise."

"In dealing with the general question of government the Executive displays a knowledge so comprehensive, a judgment so sound, and a power of analysis so rare, that the reader who gives thoughtful attention to this portion of the message will be surprised and delighted. We speak deliberately when we say that, with the excep-

(Account continued.)

tion of the papers of Jefferson, the writings of no public man in the United States exhibit such depth of thought as is shown in this part of Gov. Tilden's work."

TRIBUNE. — 1876.

"The message of Governor Tilden is a business-like document, wasting no words on fictitious issues, and incumbering its statements, arguments and suggestions with no ill-timed rhetoric."

TO ARRANGING TO HAVE A CHICAGO REPORTER SENT ON
TO "INTERVIEW" YOU AS PER YOUR DIRECTIONS (THE
"INTERVIEW" WRITTEN OUT BY YOURSELF AS HAND-
ED TO REPORTER)

\$500

"TILDEN INTERVIEWED."**"REVIEW OF STATE AND NATIONAL POLITICS."**

[*Correspondence of the "Chicago Times."*]

"ALBANY, N. Y., Nov. 27, 1875. — On one of the bright, beautiful days this week I had the pleasure of meeting, for the first time, and of being most agreeably entertained by, Samuel J. Tilden, who WILL LONG BE KNOWN TO FAME AS THE 'REFORM GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.'"

"The object the 'Times' correspondent had in calling upon Governor Tilden was to obtain from him a clear definition of the somewhat singular results that attended the late election in New York.

"The conversation was as follows: —

"CORRESPONDENT. — Governor, we of the West do not exactly understand the nature and final results of the late canvass in New York. What are your explanations?

"GOVERNOR TILDEN. — I consider the election of the Democratic State ticket the most remarkable victory for reform which has ever happened in our political history.

TROY PRESS.

"Gov. Tilden's second annual message to the Legislature is the ablest State paper which is likely to be produced during the centennial year. So sound and comprehensive a document need not be looked for from Federal or from any other State Executive. It treats of State affairs elaborately and clearly, and where it rises to a broader scope it exhibits the weight, wisdom and force of a truly statesmanlike mind."

"The last canvass had many features wholly unprecedented in our political experience. The leaders in the Republican Convention declared adhesion to the policy of a Democratic Governor. Their complimentary allusions to him were received with applause. They nominated a ticket of new men, and of fair popular repute. Republican candidates for the Legislature, like Mr. Rogers, of Buffalo, in his address to the convention accepting its nomination, insisted that 'they could support Governor Tilden more effectively' than their Democratic rivals, and that 'they would do so.' Everywhere they claimed to be as good reformers as the Democratic candidates. *Even Senator Conkling opened his appeal to the Republicans to stand by their own ticket by saying that 'Governor Tilden was not running.'*"

"UNEXPECTEDLY TO ME, a desire manifested itself among many persons, as a means of putting the Democratic party on a reformatory policy and position, TO RUN ME FOR GOVERNOR. I HAD ALWAYS IN

* What Senator Conkling did say was: —

"To begin with, Governor Tilden is not running in this canvass. 'Boss' Kelly in New York is quite as much in question as Governor Tilden. The Dem-

ocratic party is running, and it is a good deal more important to know how it stands than to know how Gov. Tilden or any other man stands."

(Account continued.)

PRIVATE LIFE TAKEN MORE THAN MY SHARE IN THE DUTIES OF A CITIZEN OF THE REPUBLIC, BUT NEVER ENTERING UPON OR AIMING AT AN OFFICIAL CAREER; AND IT WAS KNOWN THAT, SO FAR AS I HAD ANY TASTE FOR POLITICAL LIFE, IT WAS NOT IN THAT DIRECTION, BUT QUITE THE CONTRARY.

"But I should be sorry to be remembered only as an example of discouragement to my successors, and to the young men who are growing up.

I should regret to stand in their eyes as a monument to remind them that in such undertakings the right will fail, and that all services and sacrifices for it will be wasted. In that sense, only, have I the slightest concern about my political future.

"As to my financial views, you may say that it is well-known that I approve of the platform of the Democratic party of this State, adopted in convention in 1874 and 1875. The subject is discussed in my speech at Syracuse, in September, 1874, and more fully in my annual message of January, 1875. I know the difficulty of organizing and representing these separated and isolated atoms of the community against its corrupt interests. That is just what for four years I have endeavored to do in this State. For five years before the open war began I WEARILY HELD THE DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION IN THIS STATE from being swept away by corrupt TENDENCIES; I FOUGHT THE CONTEST IN THE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE AND STATE CONVENTION, AND LED 40,000 DEMOCRATS IN THE REVOLT OF THE VOTERS OF THE CITY. I say it does not consist with public morality or public safety (AND HERE THE GOVERNOR ELEVATED HIS VOICE AS THOUGH ADDRESSING A MULTITUDE, AND EXCIT-

EDLY, ELOQUENTLY PROCLAIMED) that thieves and robbers should be allowed to organize themselves into a balance of power, and thereby award victory or defeat between political parties, while honest men remain inside of their party associations and allow it to be done! In my special message on canal reform, March 18, I used these words:—

"Such is a key to the situation. The interest which fattens on abuse of public expenditure is intelligent, energetic and persistent. It begins to operate upon public officers as soon as they are elected.

"The vast mass of tax-payers are occupied in their daily industries, on their farms and in their workshops.

"In a silent contest with the tax-consumers they are often practically unrepresented. It is only when they are aroused and organized, and can find representatives whom they trust, that they protect themselves and overwhelm all resistance."

"This declaration puzzled and confused all the routine politicians. At first all who were in sympathy with the Canal Ring said I had committed suicide; had broken up and destroyed the party which had elected me. . . . Soon there came an unexampled rising of the people of all parties in support of reform. Then the fashionable theory was that my action was an audacious and dexterous stroke of ambition for the Presidency.

"AND HERE HIS EXCELLENCY ROSE AND BEGAN PACING THE FLOOR, INDIGNATION FLASHING FROM HIS EYES, AND WITH MEASURED TREAD HE CONTINUED TO WALK TO AND FRO TILL THE INTERVIEW TERMINATED.'

TO PROCURING INSERTION OF THE FOLLOWING EDITORIAL,
AS WRITTEN BY YOURSELF (FOUR COLUMNS) . . .

\$500

EXTRACTS.

DEC. 3, 1875.

"The details of an interview with Governor TILDEN, which we may copy in this morning's issue from the Chicago 'Times,'

should be carefully studied. The characteristic feature of this interview is the daring with which the Governor gives expressions to his opinions and his feelings. There is no sneaking away from important

topics, no dreary elevation of common places, no utterance of Delphic platitudes. Unlike many of our public men Mr. TILDEN is full to overflowing with ideas, sentiments and convictions, and perfectly willing to give them frankly to the people. He has the courage of a leader, and a glance at his reported conversation will show, even to those who have not learned it from his acts, that he has the wisdom of a leader also. THIS INTERVIEW REVEALS A BREADTH OF COMPREHENSION AND A

FIRMNESS OF GRASP THAT NO OTHER STATESMAN OF OUR DAY HAS DISPLAYED.

"His noble confidence in the ultimate triumph of honesty deserves the victory which it is sure to win.

"His criticism on the financial management of the Administration will be accepted as the best political epigram of the day: 'There is no want of resources in our country, except in the men who deal with its finances.'"

The reader will note many phrases in the reported "interview," showing Tilden to be its author, and as "wearily holding" on to the same subject as in his letter to the "New York Times"! His "eloquently proclaiming" and "flashing eye" points, are quite romantic for a "sixty-year old (*past*)" writer about himself!

That he did write it ("revise and extend it"), *is settled by the reporter himself* in the following paragraph, appearing about December 10, 1875:—

"IT HAVING BEEN intimated that a recent alleged interview with Governor Tilden, reported in the 'Chicago Times,' never transpired, the *reporter* who accomplished it *writes* to the Albany Argus an indignant note. "I went to Albany," he says, "on Wednesday morning, November 24th, and at once called upon the governor. . . . He declined to be interviewed, but treated me courteously and talked freely.

. . . . On Saturday morning the governor admitted me in person AFTER SAYING THAT OTHER NEWSPAPER MEN HAD REPEATEDLY SOUGHT TO INTERVIEW HIM SINCE THE ELECTION, AND THAT HE HAD PERSISTENTLY DECLINED, HE CONSENTED TO REVISE AND EXTEND THE POINTS I HAD ALREADY SECURED."

Taking the "interview," the "editorial comments" and the reporter's "explanatory notes" together, it is safe to say that no other Presidential candidate ever "blew his own horn" like Sammy Tilden, who may, for aught we know, yet be "*walking to and fro*" with those "*flashing eyes*" and that "*measured tread*," having as little power to stop as the Wandering Jew!!

Memoranda: Artist 0
 Took paid for monthly, send bills to S.F. office
 (the his letter)

Extra size to your calves
 " " " ribs
 " " " shovel
 Elevating - - - tail
 Enlarging your eyes
 Adding three books in rear
 " teeth in Kelly's mouth
 " stripes on Tiger's skin

Enlarging your muscles
 Changing your nose to Roman
 Adding intensity to your grip of shovel
 Fixing faucy curl to end of tail
 Drawing back your ears
 Opening Kelly's and Withham's mouths
 Placing bottle in M. Marble's hand
 " Muzzle on Harrison & Land's faces



SAMMY TILDEN,
 THE LATER HERCULES CLEANSING THE MODERN AUGEAN STABLES.

From *The Daily Graphic*, Oct. 20, 1875.

ADDENDA.

PICTORIAL POLITICS.

As a manager of this new field of political enterprise, Tilden is acknowledged to be without a rival!

That he is a liberal patron of these "*fine arts*," the following probable account current will indicate:—

S. J. Tilden

To Goodsell Brothers, Popularity Brokers, etc., Dr.

To series of cartoons engraved from ideal suggestions of your own, and published during 1874, 1875 and 1876 each alternate week, including the artist's charge for alterations to suit your taste as attached to each picture. . . . \$25,000

Samples of the cartoons referred to will be found in these pages, from photolithographs taken from various pictorials of recent date.

The editor of the "New York Times" remarks on Cartoon No. 20 thus:—

"When Governor Tilden sends the next portrait of himself to his 'illustrated paper' we again advise him to put on a few more clothes. It is a new feature in our political life to find candidates depicting themselves in the costume of our first parents. We do not believe that Governor Tilden is so beautiful as to justify this free revelation of his charms, and an accurate representation of his legs would not be likely to attract many votes. Let him then draw his next portrait in the garb which all decent men wear at the present day. We believe that he boasts that he is lineally descended from an ancient Briton, but that is no reason why he should revert to the too scanty attire of his ancestors. Degraded as our politics may be, we expect our candidates for office to appear in public with some better protection against the weather than a fig-leaf."

FINIS.

